The Hymnographic Book of Tropologion

Sources, Liturgy and Chant Repertory

Svetlana Kujumdzieva

ROUTLEDGE

The Hymnographic Book of Tropologion

The Tropologion is considered the earliest known extant chant book from the early Christian world, which was in use until the twelfth century. The study of this book is still in its infancy. It has generally been believed that the book has survived in Georgian translation under the name "ladgari," but similar books have been discovered in Greek, Syriac and Armenian. All the copies clearly show that the spread and the use of the book were much greater than we had previously assumed and the Georgian ladgari is only one of its many versions.

The study of these issues unquestionably confirms the earliest stage of the compilation of the book, in Jerusalem or its environs, and shows its uninterrupted development from Jerusalem to the Stoudios monastery, the most important monastery of Constantinople. Over time many new pieces and new authors were added to the Tropologion. It is almost certain that it was the Stoudios school of poet-composers that divided the content of the Tropologion and compiled separate collections of books, each one containing a major liturgical cycle. In the beginning, all of the volumes kept the old title but in the tenth century the copies of the book were renamed, probably according to the liturgical repertory included, and by the thirteenth century the title 'Tropologion' is no longer found in the Greek sources as it became superfluous, and fell out of use.

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Abbreviations

BBGG	*Bolletino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata*
DOP	*Dumbarton Oaks Papers*
EMH	*Early Music History*
JL	*Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft*
JAMS	*Journal of the American Musicological Society*
JTS	*Journal of Theological Studies*
MMB	*Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae*
OCA	*Orientalia Christiana Analecta*
OCP	*Orientalia Christiana Periodica*
OC	*Oriens Christianus*
OLA	*Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta*
ODB	*Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*
OHB	*Oxford History of Byzantium*
OS	*Ostkirlichen Studien*
PMM	*Plainsong and Medieval Music*
PO	*Patrologia Orientalis*
SL	*Studia Liturgica*
SP	*Studia Patristica*
VC	*Vigiliae Christiane*
БЕ	*Български език*
БМ	Българско музикознание
Вр	*Византийский временник*
ГСУ	*Годишник на Софийския университет*
КМЕ	*Кирило-Методиевска енциклопедия*
КМС	*Кирило-Методиевски студии*
СЛ	*Старобългарска литература*
СЛЕР	*Старобългарска литература. Енциклопедичен речник*

Preliminary words

Many different kinds of hymnographic liturgical books survive from the early medieval period. They vary in language, content, hymnodic genre, principles of organization, presence or absence of music notation, liturgical rite or regional tradition, etc. As a whole our knowledge about them is very limited. The Tropologion is one of the books that contain hymns for the Christian worship performed in the early Eastern Church. It is a central subject in the study of the origins of the early hymnographic liturgical books. The author's focus is on this book as a book type. The goal is to present manuscripts that have been called Tropologion, and the hymnographic sources related to the latter. Manuscripts in Greek, Syriac, Georgian and Armenian entitled, respectively, "Tropologion," "Tropligin," "Iadgari" and "Šaraknoc" are discussed. Hence, the designation "Tropologion" is used here as a collective term for all the early hymnographic books bearing these designations. In addition, some of the early Old Slavic books that reveal characteristics related to the book of the Tropologion are included.

The present study is based on both original source material and secondary literature that was published until now and is related to the topic. The critical approach to previous studies that seek to understand the Tropologion in its old and new forms is refreshing, since this book insists on studying the extant manuscripts of the Tropologion, limiting the amount of speculation that can be made about earlier periods for which no texts or source material have been preserved. In this sense, the topic is of great importance to the early hymnographic books, to the sources preserved, to their liturgy and chant repertory.

Two issues should be stressed. First, the author has worked with primary sources in Greek and Slavic only: primary sources in the other three languages are discussed on the basis of secondary sources, that is, manuscripts are consulted from catalogues and not through direct examination and study. That is why some descriptions of the manuscripts presented are longer than the other. Second, the discussions and comparisons of manuscripts are not based on the actual content of the hymns they contain. The concrete analysis of the text is not a research goal in this book. Such an analysis suggests a special philological knowledge and relevant studies,

which are outside the specialization of the author. The centre of research are three basic parameters: the arrangement of the repertory, the genres included and the liturgical calendar according to which the offices are organized. The sources discussed are described and compared according to these parameters. This book could be considered as a propaedeutic step of collected manuscript sources in the further comprehensive and thorough study of the Tropologion.

It is my great pleasure, finally, to express my deepest gratitude to all the colleagues and institutions that supported this project. It could not have been accomplished if I had not had the rare chance to work with the rich literature of the Library of Congress in Washington, DC twice, during my association as a Fellow at the international John W. Kluge Center in 2003/2004 and 2009/2010. My deep gratitude goes out to all the colleagues from the Center's administration, especially to its two directors during my stay there, Dr Prosser Gifford and Dr Carolin Brown, who provided excellent conditions for my research. I also want to extend my gratitude to Dr Alice-Mary Talbot and Dr Margaret Mullett, directors of Byzantine Studies at the Dumbarton Oaks Center of Harvard University, who provided access to work in this unique Center during my stay in Washington, DC. I owe further thanks to the administration of the Vatican Film Library at St. Louis University in Saint Louis, Missouri, USA, and especially to its director, Dr Gregory Pass, and Dr Susan L'Egle, the editor-in-chief of the *Manuscripta* journal, where I also had the opportunity to do research work twice – in 2003/2004 and 2012. Especially deep is my gratitude to the late professor Miloš Velimirović (+2008), professor Ruth Steiner and professor Barbara Hagh-Huglo, who supported my project as my reviewers. My discussions with them were of utmost importance. To all of them – my gratitude and deep respect!

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1 The Hymnographic Book of Tropologion – Perspectives of the study

In 1980 the Georgian scholars E. P. Metreveli, C. A. Chankieva and M. Hevsuriani published a fundamental study with the texts of seven copies of a very early hymnographic book with non-biblical material known in Georgian under the name *Iadgari*.[1] The publication was epoch-making because – as the Georgian scholars claimed – *Iadgari* was the oldest hymnographic book that came to us, presenting the worship in one of the most important legislative centers in the field of early Christian worship in the East in the time up to the ninth century – Jerusalem. The publication of the Georgian scholars' work is in Georgian and until now there is no translation of the Georgian liturgical texts in any other language, which makes their study difficult. Fortunately, there are two large summaries in French and in Russian at the end of the book, and it is due to them that the results of the research are accessible to the wider international scientific audience. All the copies of the book are from the tenth century. However, the material included – in terms of the festal calendar, the order or the structure of the repertory and genres – goes back to the fifth century, which is a much earlier time than that of their writing.[2] Six manuscripts are from the library of St. Catherine's monastery on Mount Sinai: Sinai Georgian 18, 20, 26, 34, 40 and 41; one manuscript is from Tbilisi: H-2123. The manuscripts 18, 40 and 41 are considered to have been written slightly earlier than 20, 26, 34 and H-2123.[3] According to the Georgian scholars the Greek model of *Iadgari* should have been the Tropologion.[4] The latter was the universal hymnographic book that was used in Jerusalem churches between the seventh and ninth centuries, according to the Jerusalem *Typikon* of that time.[5] The book went out of use after the twelfth century. Its basic core was composed of chants of the immovable and movable cycles and also chants of the weekday cycle, resurrectional and penitential in eight modes. The latter cycle, according to the Georgian scholars, presents the earliest *Oktoechos* and was included in its content a little bit later.[6] The Georgian scholars distinguished between two main layers in the book that were organically linked. They call the first one "old." It is composed of psalms and troparia by anonymous authors from the fifth to the seventh centuries. This layer was not older than the seventh century. The second layer is referred to as "new." It

is composed of stichera and kanons by authors from the seventh through the ninth centuries such as Germanos Patriarch (ca. 630/650?–730/742?), John of Damascus (ca. 650 – before 754), Kosmas of Maiuma/of Jerusalem (ca. 675–752), etc.[7] The development of the book – according to the Georgian scholars again – progressed in two directions: first, by extending the range of the feasts, and second, by extending the feasts with new works and genres, mostly stichera and kanons.

The Georgian scholars emphasized that the Greek-language model regarding the structuring of the composition of the Georgian *Iadgari* was not found. In terms of the chants included in the *Iadgari*, they found 5 percent common chants between preserved copies of this book and various liturgical books in Greek. Here I will only say that recently a Tropologion in Greek of the *Iadgari* type was found and the number of common chants between this book and the modern liturgical books turned out to be above 50 percent (see further).[8] The Georgian scholars further found that the chants in the *Iadgari* were accurate translations from the chants in Greek. The scholars concluded that the oldest form of the *Iadgari* went through various modifications and if the earliest layers of the book go back to the fifth century, the later ones that are found in the Sinai Georgian 26 and 34 manuscripts show that the book was constantly updated.[9] For instance, a memory for St. Abo, a Georgian saint from the end of the eighth century (died in 786), was included in last two quoted manuscripts.[10] In these, and also in Sinai Georgian 20, an early form of *Heirmologion* was found, specifically the incipits of *heirmoi* from kanons by Kosmas of Jerusalem and John of Damascus in eight modes.[11] The manuscript Sinai 34 was compiled by the renowned tenth-century Palestinian monk John Zosime. Its compilation lasted several years: it started in St. Sabas monastery near Jerusalem and ended during the third quarter of the same century in 965. John Zosime was a writer of many other Georgian manuscripts housed in both St. Sabas and St. Catherine monasteries on Mount Sinai. The latter followed the tradition of the Holy City. Zosime was the first to indicate memories for every day of weekly worship: until him the weekdays had not been associated with a particular memory in written sources. Zosime reported the following weekly memories: Sunday, resurrectional day – the day of the Holy Resurrection; Monday and Tuesday – days of repentance; Wednesday and Friday – days of the Holy Cross; Thursday – the day of the Virgin Mary; and Saturday – the day of the saints and souls.[12] Hence, it is clear that the core of the modern weekly cycle with determined memories for each day of the week must have been formed in about the tenth century. A slightly earlier source, the manuscript Sinai 863 (a Book of the Hours from St. Sabas monastery representing an early Jerusalem monastic liturgical Typikon), confirms this.[13] It is also confirmed by the earliest manuscript in the eight-mode consecutive order for weekly worship, Sinai Greek 776, which along with two other manuscripts, Sinai 1593 and London British Add. 26, dated by Boris Fonkich from the first half of the ninth century, are considered the earliest manuscripts

known later under the name *Paraklitike* or "Great Oktoechos" (containing the weekly liturgical cycle).[14] The memories in this manuscript (Sinai 776) are not yet defined and fixed in the order of weekdays from Monday through Saturday, and the days are also not given by their names, as it is in all other manuscripts from the tenth century onwards.[15]

Among the main characteristics of the book that are pointed out by the Georgian scholars, an important note should be stressed. The festal calendar is very early: it was found in Georgian sermons of the fifth and sixth centuries. This conclusion confirms that the roots of the Tropologion date back to this early time.[16] The *Iadgari* starts with the Annunciation, which is given on March 25 and is put before Christmas on December 25. The Annunciation, as a separate feast, is not encountered in some of the oldest sources representing the liturgical practice in Jerusalem – the Diary of the nun Egeria (also known as Eteria or Sylvia) from the end of the fourth century and the Armenian Lectionary from the first half of the fifth century (for these sources, see next chapter). The oldest reference of the Annunciation celebrated in Jerusalem worship was found in a homily of Patriarch Sophronios of Jerusalem (550–638) from the first half of the seventh century.[17] This fact provided grounds for the conclusion that the *Iadgari* was one of the very earliest liturgical books. It documents the great feast of the Virgin Mary, the *Theotokos*, as occurring around Christmas – a very old liturgical practice that goes back to at least the fifth century.[18] The feasts according to the Menaion and Triodion cycles follow an uninterrupted order of the church calendar. The yearly liturgical cycle runs from December through November. The immovable feasts run up to February 2, the Hypapante or the Purification; they are followed by the movable cycle up to April 23, the feast of St. George; and after that date the immovable festal cycle returns. In the last sections of the *Iadgari*, resurrectional and penitential chants for the weekly cycle are included in eight modes. In each mode, they are given in the succession of the offices: for Vespers, Orthros and the Liturgy. Kathismata and hypokoai that are performed in all of the feasts during both the yearly and weekly cycles are given as a separate section.[19] In addition to these two genres, prokeimena with verses, alleluaria, stichera and kanons are also included. The Georgian scholars pay special attention to the kanons. They stress that the kanons are the main hymnographic form in the two large sections in the *Iadgari*: those of the Menaion and the Triodion. There are both full kanons, with nine odes, and incomplete ones, composed of two, three and four odes. Twenty-five of them are full kanons for the feasts of the Lord, for the great church feasts and for the common services. All of them have a second ode. There are two kanons for most of the services. The second kanon is designated as "other" (ἄλλος). That the kanons in the *Iadgari* are very old is proven by the fact that in the book they are still very closely related to the Biblical odes, which means that many kanons, especially those designated as "other," do not have a *heirmos*. In other words, their first strophe is not related thematically to the other strophes, respectively, which

means that it does not determine their melody and rhythm. Also, the ninth ode of the kanons is not designated as *theotokion*, that is, it is not intended for the praise of the Virgin Mary yet.[20]

The results of the Georgian scholars' research are discussed in many publications by Andrew Wade,[21] Peter Jeffery,[22] Maya Momina,[23] Gabriele Winkler,[24] Hans-Michael Schneider,[25] Olga Krasheninnikova,[26] Stig Simeon Frøyshov[27] and others. All of them point out that the Georgian *Iadgari* is the oldest hymnographic book and as it was the only Georgian translation that survived, that is how the book came to us. The Greek prototype of the book is the Tropologion. The *Iadgari* actually presents a full Jerusalem Church Tropologion, containing chant texts for the whole church year: for the feasts of saints, Lent, Easter and post-Easter time, as well as for the resurrectional and common services. The book emerged as a result of recording troparia used in the worship. The name Tropologion comes from the main genre included in the book – a book with collected troparia. The troparia are called *dasadebeli* in Georgian. The term "Tropologion" was known by both generations – of John of Damascus in the Sabas monastery and of Theodore the Studite (759–826) in the Studios monastery in Constantinople.[28]

Scholars agree that the book was known only in its Georgian translation under the name *Iadgari*.[29] The translation was done from Greek into Georgian. In Georgia, which is not far away from Jerusalem, worship was adopted from the Holy City in the same way it was practiced there in the seventh and eighth centuries. The Jerusalem worship was preserved in the *Iadgari* in its "purist" form.[30] According to Peter Jeffery, the *Iadgari* was the first attempt to write down what had previously existed only in the minds of singers; this happened by the end of the sixth or in the seventh century.[31] In earlier times there was only one universal liturgical hymnographic book – the Tropologion.[32] Most likely in the eighth or in the beginning of the ninth century, due to the increased festive repertory included in it, the hymnographic material began to split into separate collections corresponding to the three major sections of the Tropologion. This marked the beginning of the modern liturgical books – the Menaion, Triodion and the Oktoechos.[33] The Tropologion as a type of book ceases to exist after the separation of its repertory and the compilation of the latter in separate individual types of books. Here I will only say that of all modern liturgical books, the notated full Sticherarion (composed of the Menaion, Triod-Pentekostarion and Oktoechos) is the closest to it in terms of its structure notwithstanding some differences.

The two separate layers in the *Iadgari*, referred to by the Georgian scholars as "old" and "new," were interpreted further and put into some chronological frames. Some recent studies in this respect belong to the Norwegian scholar Stig Simeon Frøyshov.[34] In his research, he included the new finds from the library of St. Catherine's monastery on Mount Sinai discovered in 1975 by the archimandrite Sophronios and the monk Damianos during the renovation of one of the rooms in the monastery.[35] According to

Frøyshov, the development of the Tropologion/*Iadgari* (he calls the book "Hymnal," as well) went through two major stages. This is evidenced by the above-mentioned manuscript Sinai Georgian 34 from the tenth century: John Zosime has marked the "old" and the "new" repertory in it. The two designations gave reason for Frøyshov to build his hypothesis of the existence of an "ancient" Iadgary/Tropologion and of a "new" one. The "ancient" *Iadgari*/Tropologion was known in Georgian only. It was identified according to the old layers determined in the copies of the Georgian *Iadgari*. The translation was done in Georgian before 638, that is, before the Islamic period and the death of Patriarch Sophronios.[36] Hence, according to Frøyshov's hypothesis, the "old" *Iadgari*/Tropologion was available between the fourth and the sixth centuries and was the oldest Christian collection of hymns, preserved in Georgian only. A separate copy of this book has not survived. The number of immovable feasts was still limited in the book. The common services – for martyrs, hierarchs, etc. in the eight modes – prevailed. In terms of its liturgical calendar, structure and rubrics, the "old" *Iadgari* corresponded to the Georgian Lectionary (see next chapter about the latter). The "new" *Iadgari*/Tropologion existed in Greek, Georgian and Syriac; some of its fragments were also in Palestino-Syriac.[37] Frøyshov suggests that the process of compiling the "new" *Iadgari* began as early as the seventh century and most likely in its first half. According to him, the first hymnographer of the "new" Tropologion was Patriarch Sophronios of Jerusalem. His successors were John of Damascus and Kosmas of Jerusalem, whose flourishing time was the first half of the eighth century. The formation of the "new" Tropologion lasted at least until the tenth century. It is evidenced by the inclusion of the memory of the late eighth-century Georgian St. Abo in the book. Frøyshov concludes that the Georgians had translated the "old" Tropologion from Greek and continued to update the book even after the hymnographic reform made by John of Damascus and his generation; this occurred during the seventh and eighth centuries and would include their additions to the book, though not immediately.[38] Frøyshov also suggests that there were elements of a third archaic stage in the book. He does not consider it, but summarizes that the three stages were closely related to each other and represented different stages in the development of the Jerusalem Book of Hours.[39] Differences between them were revealed in terms of the layers of hymnody and available rubrics. In terms of their repertory, however, they were very close since a large part of this repertory was common. Frøyshov calls the "old" Tropologion "global," meaning that it contained both the yearly (immovable and movable) cycle and the weekly one. He stresses that such a "global" repertory has not been found in the "new" Tropologion in Greek, that is, the "new" Tropologion did not contain the yearly and weekly cycles together but separately.[40]

Whether there was an "old" *Iadgari*/Tropologion still remains disputable because the study of the Orthodox notated sources shows that they are constantly updated: up to the nineteenth century, pieces are systematically

marked as to which of them are "old" or "new"; there are also indications of who the "old" authors and "new" authors were. Hence, until the discovery of a book containing repertory up to the seventh century only, the existence of an "old" Tropologion will remain questionable. It is very likely that the available copies of the *Iadgari*, which without doubt are translations from Greek originals, have been compiled in the way that we know them – with both old and new repertories. The compilation may have happened as early as the eighth century: the newest material in the book belongs to this time. In other words, the Tropologion was compiled in the eighth century and included the hymnographic material that was only practiced and transmitted orally until that time.

Among the issues discussed by scholars related to the *Iadgari*/Tropologion were also those concerning when and how the book emerged, what its composition was like, what genres were included, and so on; these are issues that will be discussed further.

Studies in recent years testify that books with collected non-biblical hymnic repertory from the early Christian time, such as the *Iadgari*-type, had a much wider dissemination and use than was previously thought. The Georgian *Iadgari* is just one version and, as we shall see, it was not only this book that contained hymnic material.[41] For instance, as pointed out by Gabriele Winkler, a book called *Šaraknoc* was compiled at the beginning of the eighth century in Armenia. It is considered analogous to the Georgian *Iadgari*.[42] Like the *Iadgari*, it includes a non-biblical hymnic repertory and it represents the oldest collection of troparia in eight modes in Armenian. The book is named after the major chant form included in it – *šarakan*, which corresponds to both the Greek troparion and the Georgian *dasadebeli*.[43] Winkler establishes a close link between the toposes of the Georgian *Iadgari* and the Armenian Šaraknoc.[44] She pointed out a connection between some of the toposes in these two books and their Syriac predecessors that went back to the first half of the fourth century.[45] As stated by the researcher, the Armenian ritual in the greater part of its daily worship displayed the oldest form of the cathedral service connected with Jerusalem. There were clues from several liturgical layers of this ritual that came primarily from Syria.[46] Hence, the Tropologion existed not only in Greek, Georgian, Syriac and Syro-Palestinian, as Frøyshov concludes, but also in Armenian (in its "old" layer). Winkler's studies support the above-mentioned thesis that the formation of one of the main hymnographic liturgical books (or of its major parameters), the Oktoechos, might have referred to Syria.[47] This would make the Antioch-Syrian-Palestinian region one of the most likely places where the early Oktoechoi were both compiled and spread from.

A book closely related to the Georgian *Iadgari* and the Armenian Šaraknoc was found in Syriac manuscripts as well. The book is called in Syriac *Trœplygyn*. Numerous copies of this book are kept in the British Museum in London. They were written at the same time as the Georgian and the Armenian manuscripts – between the ninth and the twelfth centuries.[48]

The Syriac Tropligin contains non-biblical material as well. The main genre included in it and corresponding to the troparion is called *maneyato* (*ma`nyotho*).[49] The study of this book supports Frøyshov's opinion that a Tropologion-type book from its early period was preserved in the Syriac translation as well. At the same time, it refutes the opinion of other scholars that such a book had only ever existed in Georgian.[50]

* * *

My interest in the problems related to the Tropologion and, respectively, to the *Iadgari*, was provoked during my work on the early Oktoechoi. I had set myself the task of investigating all the early Greek liturgical Sinai manuscripts until the thirteenth century in order to find the "roots" of the book of the Oktoechos, since scholarly opinions about its origins differ. The Sinai collection, as it is already well known, is unique in the context of the early Greek liturgical manuscripts – it does not have any parallel. The Sinai manuscripts are one of the best sources for research on the early hymnography and liturgy in some of the oldest and most important literary centers in the East – St. Sabas monastery near Jerusalem, St. Catherine's monastery on Mount Sinai and the Studios monastery of St. John Prodromos in Constantinople. What I found during my study of the early Menaia, Triod-Pentekostaria and the Oktoechoi was amazing and it exceeded any and all expectations. In particular, studying three major parameters – the festal calendar, compilation and structure of the books, and genres – confirmed some of the conclusions about the *Iadgari*/Tropologion, but not all of them. The results of this study were published in my book, *The Early Oktoechoi: Sources, Liturgy and Chant Repertory (Based on the Sources until the 13th Century)*.[51] The focus of this research is placed on the book of the Tropologion in its versions in various languages. Some new sources have been added, including Slavic ones, and recent literature on the problem is discussed critically. The author is convinced that only in the broadest possible context of sources and documents involved in the study could be objectively ascertain the characteristics of the research object. It is not enough to draw general conclusions about a single manuscript without placing it within a broader research context (see further).[52] It is necessary to view the entire evolution of any given book, along with its genealogy, and all the stages it has gone through, respectively, in its transmission as a **type of book**. As it is well known, there are no two identical manuscripts: in the early period (at least until the twelfth century), manuscripts vary greatly – they reflect various and diverse practices. The coexistence of various liturgical practices is characteristic to the time up to the thirteenth century. This is evidenced by multiple versions of different *Typika* used in different places. Hence, it is important to keep in mind how a given manuscript was perceived as a type of book by its contemporaries in the environment in which it was compiled and used. We don't know very much about the early hymnographic books. It would be

better to disregard our later knowledge about them in order to objectively characterize their development and transmission. Otherwise, we are in danger of being biased in drawing conclusions regarding the stages of development of a given type of book. In other words, the methodological position of this study is to investigate the book of the Tropologion in its development and transmission as a type of book – the book that is designated as a Tropologion. This designation was kept by the contemporaries that used this book. We read it in its initial rubrics where it usually indicated the book type. The designation "Tropologion" ceased to exist when the new types of books were established. The study of liturgical books until the nineteenth century (I have in mind the notated books) implicitly indicates that the new type of book replaced the old one when the former was fully completed and accomplished. That is why a large number of early sources in different languages (Greek, Georgian and Syriac) are included here, designated as "Tropologion," "Iadgari" and "Tropligin." Also, "Šaraknoc" in Armenin, as well as sources showing some relation to this type of book are discussed. Additionally, various Menaia, Triodia and Oktoechoi from the period until the thirteenth century, in which the repertory of the *Iadgari*/Tropologion happened to be later distributed, are studied. The three main parameters that I have pointed out above are the focus of the research. A thorough study of them confirmed an earlier compilation of the book, contextualized its transmission between the time of the fifth/sixth and thirteenth centuries, and showed its spread throughout the Byzantine world, especially from Jerusalem to Constantinople and beyond. The book could have been compiled in a literary center either in Jerusalem or in a region that belonged to it. The most probable such center could have been the St. Sabas monastery. This was the most important legislative liturgical center in the East almost until the ninth century.

The main research goals of the work are the following: to collect the available copies of the Tropologion and to identify the repertory included in them; to trace the development of the compiled repertory in terms of the liturgical calendar, liturgy and genres; and to point out what remains as traditional in the book and what enters it as something new. One of the main issues in looking for the answers is whether the book itself has been modified as a whole, and if so, what happened to its entire included repertory when it went out of use. The concrete research tasks are connected with the above-mentioned research goals, namely to bring into prominence and to present the available copies of the book in Georgian, Syriac, Greek and Slavic; to consider them in the context of various Typika that were in use until the thirteenth century; and to display the specifics of the book's typology, considering its chronological transmission in the time up to the thirteenth century. It should be stressed again that the textual analysis, that is, the concrete analysis of the text of the book's copies, is not a research goal here. Such an analysis suggests a special philological knowledge and relevant studies, which are outside the specialization of the author.

In Bulgarian medieval science, the book of the *Iadgari*/Tropologion is almost completely unknown. The study of both this book and the problem about the oldest hymnographic books is of significance to the early history of Old-Bulgarian culture. The Bulgarian sources preserved from the time until the thirteenth century are very few in number, and they are mostly fragments. The period from the ninth to the eleventh centuries was very poor in terms of preserved Bulgarian sources. Such sources are known from the thirteenth century onwards but they are in Cyrillic, the alphabet that was accepted after the Glagolitic alphabet in Bulgaria and replaced it. The thirteenth century was a time when the book of the Tropologion had already gone out of use. A book with the designation "Tropologion" in Bulgarian is not known. That does not mean that such a book never existed in Bulgaria, if we keep in mind the wide distribution of this book in the East, on the one hand, and on the second, that Bulgaria was the first Slavic country in the East to accept Christianity in 863/4, and that the first liturgical books in Slavic were spread from Bulgaria. The study of typologically similar hymnographic manuscripts in Greek, Georgian and Syriac from the eight/ninth to the thirteenth centuries could shed light on the earliest Old-Bulgarian period in terms of the existence of these books. Therefore, the actuality of the topic about the Tropologion, especially for Bulgarian science, could be seen here to provide material for reconstructing the history of hymnography related to the time just before the activity of the two brothers, St. Cyril the Philosopher (826/7?–869) and St. Methodios (ca. 815–885). We do not know very much about this period.

Notes

1 Metreveli, E. P., C. A. Čankieva, and L. M. Hevsuriani. *Udzvelesi Iadgari*. Tbilisi, 1980 [Метревели, Е. П., Ц. А. Чанкиева, Л. М. Хевсуриани. *Древнейший иадгари*. Тбилиси, 1980].

2 Metreveli, E. P. Op. cit. …, p. 923; Jeffery, P. The Sunday Office of Seventh Century Jerusalem in the Georgian Chant Books (A Preliminary Report). *SL*, 21, 1991, 52–75; idem. The Earliest Oktoechoi: The Role of Jerusalem and Palestine in the Beginning of Modal Ordering. In: *The Study of Medieval Chant: Paths and Bridges. East and West*. In Honor of Kenneth Levy. Ed. by P. Jeffery. Cambridge, 2001, 147–211; Renoux, C. Jerusalem dans le Caucase: Anton Baumstark verified. *OCA*, 265, 2001, 305–321.

3 The six Georgian manuscripts determined to be "liturgical" in the Checklist of K. Clark are dated as follows: N 18 – about the tenth and the thirteenth centuries; N 20–987; N 26–954; N 34–932; N 40 – about the tenth century; and N 41 – the tenth century, see Clark, K. *Checklist of Manuscripts in the St. Catherine's Monastery Mount Sinai*. Washington, DC, 1952, pp. 19–20.

4 Charles Renoux stresses that he prefers using the terms hymnal and hymns instead of Tropologion as Elena Metreveli has translated the name of *Iadgari*, because the Tropologion refers to a later Byzantine liturgical book that appears for the first time during the activity of Theodore the Studite (759–826), crf. Schneider, H.-M. Lobpreis im rechten Glauben. Die Theologie der Hymnen an den Festen der Menschwerdung der alten Jerusalemer Liturgie im Georgischen

Udzvelesi *Iadgari*. In: *Studien zur alten Kirchengeschichte*, 23, Borengasser-Bonn, 2004, S. 7.

5 Metreveli, E. P. Op. cit., pp. 921, 924.

6 Ibidem, p. 923.

7 Ibidem, pp. 923–925.

8 Nikiforova, A. The Tropologion Sin. gr. NE/MΓ 56-5 of the Ninth Century: A New Source for Byzantine Hymnography. *Scripta & E-Scripta*, 12, 2013, 157–185 (p. 182).

9 The two manuscripts were compiled by John Zosime in the tenth century, see Крашенинникова, О. А. *Древнеславянский Октоих св. Климента архиепископа Охридского. По древнерусским и южнославянским спискам XIII–XV веков*. Москва, 2006, с. 300.

10 This is the only Georgian saint included in the *Iadgari*. His memory is celebrated on January 7, the second day of the Epiphany, see Schneider, H.-M. Op. cit., S. 265.

11 Бруни, А.-М. Древнеславянский ирмологий и гимнографические традиции Святой земли: к вопросу о произхождении византийского прототипа. In: *Jews and Slavs*. Vol. 20. Jerusalem-Sofia, 2008, 301–316 (с. 307–308).

12 According to Крашенинникова, О. А. Цит. съч., с. 301.

13 Ibidem.

14 Stig Frøyshov determines this manuscript to be a Tropologion, probably written in Sinai according to C. Hannick, see Frøyshov, S. S. Greek Hymnody. In: *The Canterbury Dictionary of Hymnology*. Ed. by J. R. Watson and E. Hornby. Norwich, 2013, p. 33.

15 See Куюмджиева, С. Отново за ранните осмогласници: какво ни казват синайски гръцки ръкописи 1593 и 776. *Старобългарска литература*, 37–38, 2007, 26–48; about these manuscripts see *Куюмджиева, С. Ранните осмогласници. Извори, богослужение и певчески репертоар (по ръкописи до XIII в.)*. София, 2013, с. 118–129. See also the quoted literature there.

16 See Schneider, H.-M. Op. cit., S. 10.

17 Ibidem, S. 163.

18 Jeffery, P. The Sunday Office…, p. 57.

19 Metreveli, E. P. Op. cit., p. 925.

20 Ibidem, pp. 926, 928.

21 Wade, A. The Oldest Jadgari. The Jerusalem Tropologion, V–VIII Century. *OCP*, 50, 1984, 451–456.

22 Jeffery, P. Jerusalem and Rome (and Constantinople): The Musical Heritage of Two Great Cities in the Formation of the Medieval Chant Traditions. In: *Cantus Planus*. Budapest, 1980, 163–175; Jeffery, P. The Sunday Office…; Jeffery, P. The Earliest Oktoechoi…

23 Момина, М. О произхождении греческой триоди. *Палестинский сборник*. Вып. 28. Москва, 1986, 112–121.

24 Winkler, G. Die Licht-Erscheinung bei der Taufe Jesu und der Ursprung des Epiphaniefestes. *OC*, 78, 1994, 177–229.

25 Schneider, H.-M. Op. cit.

26 Крашенинникова, О. *Древнеславянский октоих*….

27 Frǿyshov, S. S. R. The Early Development of the Liturgical Eight-Mode System in Jerusalem. *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly*, 51, 2–3, 2007, 139–178.

28 *Triodion und Pentekostarion nach slavischen Handschriften des 11.-14. Jahrhunderts*. Herausg. von M. A. Momina, and N. Trunte. Paderborn, München, Wien, and Zürich, 2004, S. 44.

29 Jeffery, P. The Lost Chant Tradition of Early Christian Jerusalem: Some Possible Melodic Survivals in the Byzantine and Latin Chant Repertories. *EMH*, 11,

1992, 151–190 (p. 158); Winkler, G. Das Sanctus. Über den Ursprung und die Anfänge des Sanctus und sein Fortwirken. *OCA*, 267, 2002, p. 244.

30 Jeffery, P. The Earliest Oktoechoi…, p. 197.

31 Jeffery, P. The Sunday Office…, p. 53.

32 Момина, М. О произхождении…

33 *Triodion und Pentekostarion…*, S. 46.

34 Frøyshov, S. S. R. The Early Development…, pp. 143–144; Frøyshov, S. S. R. Greek Hymnody…, p. 20 and next.

35 Gehin, P. and S. Frøyshov. Nouvelles decouvertes sinaitiques: a propos de la parution de l'inventaire des manuscrits Grecs. *Revised English Bible*, T. 58. Paris, 2000, 167–184. The new finds refer to 55 papyruses, 1148 parchments (836 in Greek; rest of them – in Georgian, Old Slavic, Arabic, etc.) and 20 incunabula, see also Никифорова, А. Ю. "Сокрытое сокровище". Значение находок 1975 года на Синае для истории Минеи. В: *Гимнология*. Т. 6. Москва, 2011, 8–31.

36 Gehin, P. and S. Frøyshov. Op. cit., p. 169.

37 Frøyshov, S. S. R. The Early Development…, p. 144.

38 Ibidem.

39 Frøyshov, S. S. Greek Hymnody…: III. Hymnody of the Rite of Jerusalem, p. 18.

40 Ibidem, p. 31.

41 See Куюмджиева, С. Проучвайки ранните осмогласници: нови данни. In: *КМС*, 17, 2008, 453–464; also: Kujumdzieva, S. In Searching for the Earliest Oktoechoi: The Book of the Tropologion. In: *Musica Antiqua Europae Orientalis*, XIV. Bydgoszcz, 2006, 55–65.

42 Winkler, G. Der armenische Ritus: Bestandsaufnahme und neue Erketnisse sowie eine kürzere Notizen zur Liturgie der Georgier. *OCP*, 251, 1996, 265–298. The oldest compilation of the Šaraknoc was found in a manuscript from the end of the twelfth century, Matenadaran 9838 from 1193. The repertory included in this manuscript starts with Christmas on January 6, see Winkler, G. Das theologische Formelgut über den Schöpfer, das omoou/sioj, die Inkarnation und Menschwordung in den georgischen Troparien des *Iadgari* im Spiegel der christlich-orientalischen Quellen. *OC*, 84, 2000, 117–178. C. Renoux considers the Armenian Šaraknoc as an analogue of the Georgian *Iadgari* as well, see Renoux, C. Jerusalem dans le Caucase…, 305–321.

43 A. Arevshatian quotes a troparion with the designation "kzurd." This troparion appeared in the fifth century. It represented the short, independent chant of psalmodic type that followed the psalms. The text of this troparion was both a paraphrase of various biblical episodes and acts of Christ's life. The *kzurds* are the base of Šaraknoc, the Armenian liturgical chant book. In the early manuscripts from the fifth to the seventh centuries, the designation *kzurdaran* is encountered. The latter refers to both the Georgian *Iadgari* and the Greek Tropologion. The oldest chant layer in Šaraknoc was made of these kzurds for Christmas, Lent, the Holy Week, Easter, etc. Also, the earliest Oktoechos in Armenian was found in Šaraknoc, see Аревшатян, А. Жанровая типология шараканов в системе восточнохристиянской гимнографии. In: *Гимнология*. Вып. 3, 2003, 12–20.

44 Winkler, G. Anhang zur Untersuchung: "Über die Entwliklungsgeschichte des Armenischen Symbolums" und seine Bedeutung für die Wirkungsgeschichte der Antiochenischen Synoden von 324/325 und 341–345. *OCA*, 271, 2004, 107–159. See also Winkler's article: Das theologische… C. Renoux points out such a connection especially for the repertory of Resurrection, see Renoux, C. Jerusalem…

45 Winkler, G. Die Licht-Erscheinung…, S. 196.

46 A. Arevshatian also considers the seventh and eighth centuries as a period of important changes in Armenian hymnography. Among these changes, she points

out the introduction of both new genres and the system of the eight modes. The latter was linked to the name of Stepan Sunetcy who was also known as an author of numerous kanons. According to Arevshatian Stepan, writing his kanons, he should have learned a lot from Andrew of Crete. Arevshatian stresses also that in the works of the hymnographers of the cited time the best features of the Syrian and Byzantine hymnography were synthesized and developed on Armenian soil. The Šaraknoc according to Aravshatian (she calls the book also "Hymnal") brings together all the books that were differentiated in the Byzantine Church and existed separately – the Tropologion, Heirmologion, Sticherarion, Oktoechos, Kontakarion, see Аревшатян, А. Жанровая типология…, pp. 16–19.

47 Jeffery, P. The Earliest Oktoechoi…, p. 151. According to F. Desby, there was a cycle of hymns in Syria in about the sixth century that were systematized in eight modal groups. The patriarch Severus had arranged these hymns in modal cycles in a way that they had to fit the eight Sundays during the seven weeks between Easter and Pentekost. The final compilation and adaptation for the worship in both the monasteries and churches was done by John of Damascus, see Desby, F. H. *The Modes and Tuning in Neo-Byzantine Chant*. Ann Arbor, MI, 1974, p. 41. The study has also shown that Syria was the main source for Eastern rituals in the shaping of their earliest anaphoras used in the Liturgy of St. Basil the Great, see Winkler, G. Licht-Erscheinung…, S. 206. According to the investigation of P. Tarchnišvili, from the very beginning the Georgian church belonged to the Syro-Palestinian region: its liturgical practice was linked with Jerusalem or with Antioch, see Tarchnišvili, P. M. Die Geschichte der kirchlichen georgischen Literatur. *Studi e testi*, 185, 1995, S. 440.

48 Wright, W. *Catalogue of Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum Acquired since the Year 1838*. Vol. 1. London, 1870.

49 A. Baumstark believes that *manito* was a translation from Greek and meant antiphon in the sense of a hymnic, non-biblical response corresponding to the Latin *responsorium*, crf. Baumstark, A. Das Festbrevier und Kirchenjahr der syrischen Jakobiten. In: *Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums*. B. 3, 3–5. Paderborn, 1910, S. 47. About this genre see also: Cody, A. The Early History of the Oktoechos in Syria. In: *East of Byzantium: Syria and Armenia in the Formative Period*. Ed. by N. Garsoian, T. Mathews, and R. Thomson. Washington, DC, 1982, 89–111; Taft, R. The Great Entrance. *OCA*, 200, 1975, p. 84.

50 The latter opinion is defended by: Метревели, Е. Op. cit.; Wade, A. Op. cit.; Jeffery, P. The Lost Chant Tradition…; idem. The Sunday Office…, p. 53; idem. The Earliest Oktoechoi…, p. 197; Момина, М. О произхождении…

51 Куюмджиева, С. *Ранните осмогласници*… About the Sinai manuscripts see there pp. 13–17.

52 Crf. Никифорова, А. Ю. Рождение Минеи: греческие Минеи IX–XII вв. Вестник ПСТГУ, III: *Филология,* 2010. Вып. 4 (22), 103–122; Никифорова, А. Ю. *Из истории Минеи в Византии. Гимнографические памятники VIII–XII вв. Из собрания монастыря святой Екатерины на Синае*. Москва, 2012; Кривко, Р. Н. Синайско-славянские гимнографические параллели. *Вестник ПСТГУ "Филология"*. Вып. 1 (11). Москва, 2008, 56–102; also: Krivko, R. A Typology of Byzantine Office Menaia of the 9th–14th Century. *Scrinium. Journal of Patrology, Critical Hagiography and Ecclesiastical History*. Vol. 7–8: Ars Christiana. In Memoriam Michail F. Murianov (21.XI.1928–6.VI.1995). Part 2. Ed. by R. Krivko, B. Lourie, A. Orlov. Piscateway, NJ, 2011–2012, 3–68.

2 The early sources

Manuscripts up to the ninth century will be presented in this chapter. The following characteristics of the three basic parameters pointed out in the previous chapter will be discussed: the liturgical calendar, the arrangement of the repertory and the genres included in the manuscripts. All further sources will be studied according to these parameters (of course, where they are encountered).[1]

The Sundays and weekdays have the following designations:

Sunday: τῇ Κυριακῇ; Sunday Orthros, Sunday Vespers.
Monday: τῇ β΄; Monday Orthros, Monday Vespers.
Tuesday: τῇ γ΄; Tuesday Orthros, Tuesday Vespers.
Wednesday: τῇ δ΄; Wednesday Orthros, Wednesday Vespers.
Thursday: τῇ ε΄; Thursday Orthros, Thursday Vespers.
Friday: τῇ παρασκευῇ΄ τῇ ς΄; Friday Orthros, Friday Vespers.
Saturday: τῷ σαββάτῳ΄ Σἀ; Saturday Orthros, Saturday Vespers.

1. Egeria (Eteria, Silvia)

Egeria was a French or Spanish nun who lived in the second half of the fourth century. She traveled as a pilgrim through the Holy places in the East. In 1884 G. F. Gamurrini discovered her Diary in an eleventh-century manuscript (codex *Aretinus* in the monastic library in Arezzo). One of the earliest descriptions of Jerusalem worship, reflecting the time between 381 and 384, is read in this Diary.[2] The description referred to the great Lord's feasts.[3] The first feast indicated there is the **Epiphany** – the liturgical calendar begins with it. Weekly and resurrectional offices are given for this feast. Christmas was not yet fixed on December 25, and the two feasts, the Epiphany and Christmas, were probably celebrated together on January 6. Both of them reflected the Incarnation of Christ, which was considered to be the beginning of the Church Year.[4] Egeria described the Epiphany and the following week, the 40th day after the Epiphany (Presentation of Christ in the Temple or **Purification/Hypapante**), **Lent**, **Lazarus Saturday** and **Palm**

Sunday; she also spoke about special services during **Holy Week** (the name she gave it), then described **Holy Thursday** with the remark that more hymns were performed on this day and continued with **Easter** and the following week, as well as the **Ascension** and **Pentekost**. The last feast Egeria described (the end of her Diary is missing), was dedicated to the construction of Calvary combined with the week after. Egeria did not mention a date. It should have been **September 13** because this feast was compared with the discovery of the Holy Cross.[5]

In her description of Lent, Egeria wrote that it was a period of eight weeks in Jerusalem.[6] She stressed that Holy Week differed from preceding weeks. Easter was always celebrated on Sunday morning with a special midnight office. The main part of this office consisted of both the three Biblical odes/psalms reflecting on Jesus's three days in the tomb and incense symbolizing the myrrh-bearers going to Christ's tomb in the early morning.[7] According to Egeria, the origin of this resurrectional office was Jerusalem. Egeria also spoke about five daily prayer offices: at midnight before Sunday, Orthros, the offices at the sixth and the ninth hour, and Vespers.[8]

Comment. Egeria announced that during the offices, "hymns, psalms and antiphons" were sung along with prayers and readings. According to her, the weekly offices started with *matutini* (morning) hymns; the resurrectional offices were different from the weekly ones.[9] Egeria did not specify which chants were sung and what they contained. However, she stressed that all of them were always consistent with the character and subject matter of worship for the day, time and place.[10] This description shows, without a doubt, that Egeria has described the cathedral worship in Jerusalem representative of the biggest cathedral there – "St. Sepulchre," or of the Resurrection. The entire Christian community took part in this worship: bishops, priests, deacons, monks, nuns and baptized Christians as a whole.[11] The feasts that Egeria described were Lord's feasts. They started with the Epiphany/Christmas and followed the liturgical calendar. We refer to this as the **thematic liturgical cyclic order**.

2. The Armenian Lectionary (AL)

The source dates back to the early fifth century. It represents a translation from Greek into Armenian that was done between 415 and 439.[12] The Greek original was used in Jerusalem.[13] It contained Biblical readings for the whole liturgical year along with a full cycle of alleluias and responsorial psalms (prokeimena).[14] Two arguments are cited in favor of an earlier date for this source: first, several processions are mentioned in the sanctuary of St. Steven (*Martyrium*), whose cult was spread after 415; and second, Christmas was not yet marked as December 25th.[15]

The AL came to us in three major separate copies, which differ from one another in some places.[16] In order of their finding, they are as follows: Paris, B.N. Arm. 44, from the tenth century with many gaps; Jerusalem Arm. 121,

from the end of the twelfth century (1192) with a gap at the very beginning; and Erevan 985, from the tenth century.[17] The AL transmits the services in Jerusalem and the stational churches where the great Lord's feasts were celebrated. John Wilkinson stressed that the AL confirmed the picture of liturgical practice described in the Diary of Egeria. At the same time, a significant number of saints' feasts and others were added to it. Wilkinson published the feasts in the AL in the order that follows.[18]

January: the **Epiphany** on the 6th; the week of eight days after (the so-called "octave"); the feast of St. Antony on the 17th; St. Theodosius on the 19th;

February: the 40th day after Christmas (Presentation of Christ in the Temple or **Purification**) on the 14th.

March: the 40 Holy Martyrs on the 9th; St. Cyril of Jerusalem on the 18th; St. John of Jerusalem on the 29th; **Lent**, which consisted of six weeks; the **Saturday of Lazarus**; **Palm Sunday**; all the days of **Holy Week**: long services are given for Holy Thursday, Good Friday and Holy Saturday, and differ from one another; **Resurrection Sunday** and the following week from Monday through Sunday;

May: the saints' cycle returns with the feast of the Prophet Jeremiah on the 1st; the Elevation of the Holy Cross on the 7th; St. Innocent Children (Feast of the Holy Innocents killed by King Herod) on the 9th;[19] the feast of Emperor Constantine the Great on the 22nd; the Holy **Ascension** on the 40th day of the Resurrection; **Pentekost**;

June: laying relics of the Prophet Zachariah on the 10th; the Prophet Eliseus on the 14th;

July: laying a coffin in the monastery[20] on the 2nd; laying relics of the Prophet Isaiah on the 6th;

August: The 7 Holy Maccabees Martyrs on the 1st; the Blessed Mother of God on the 15th;[21] the Apostle Thomas and others on the 23rd; St. John Prodromos on the 29th;

September: Dedication of the holy places in Jerusalem and of the Holy Cross on the 13th;

November: the feast of the Apostle Philip on the 15th (NB, SK: observed in the modern calendar on the 14th); the Apostle Andrew on the 30th;

December: Sts. David and Jacob on the 25th; St. Steven on the 27th; the Apostles Peter and Paul on the 28th; the Apostle Jacob and St. John on the 29th.

Comment. The Preparatory period of Lent is not mentioned. A special celebration is marked for the sixth week of Lent, The Resurrection of Lazarus from the dead. There is a distinction between Great Lent and Paschal Lent: Monday of Holy Week is designated as "Monday of the Paschal Lent." The Paschal Bright Week includes the days from Sunday through Sunday. The final month, December, could be considered an example of rearranging the observances: in the *Iadgari*, the feast of David and Jacob is observed on the 26th. The remaining three dates (27th–29th) have the same observances in the *Iadgari*.

As a whole, the AL transmits a wide spectrum of feasts (about twenty-six) comprising feasts of the Lord, of the Holy Virgin and of the saints. They

additionally include one confessor (Antony), two bishops (Cyril and John), two emperors (Constantine and Theodosius), seven Old Testament figures (Jeremiah, Zachariah, Elisha, Maccabees, Isaiah, Jacob and David), two feasts of martyrs/saints (The 40 Holy Martyrs and St. Steven) and seven apostles (Thomas, Philip, Andrew, Peter, Paul, Jacob and John).[22] The number of given feasts is obviously limited: there are no feasts in October; the feasts of the Transfiguration of Our Lord (celebrated on August 6)[23] and of the Blessed Virgin (celebrated on November 21) are not included. The AL contains, however, the earliest version of the Paschal midnight office that was celebrated in Jerusalem with readings and Biblical odes. As pointed out by G. Winkler, the oldest troparia to three Biblical odes are revealed here: to Moses (Ex. 15:1–19), to Azaria (Dan. 3:26–45) and to the Three Holy Youths (Dan. 3:52–88).[24]

In terms of the three parameters determined for this investigation, the following picture is observed. **The liturgical calendar** starts with the Epiphany on January 6 as it was given by Egeria.[25] **The arrangement of the repertory** is in **uninterrupted liturgical calendar order.** The feasts follow the order of the liturgical calendar, and the movable feasts of Lent and the Paschal time are not separated from the immovable ones, but are placed between March 29 and May 1, that is, in their actual liturgical places. The **genres** given are limited. H. Leeb pointed out that there was only responsorial psalmody in this Lectionary: prokeimena and alleluias were included, but the poetical chants like *Gladsome Light* were few.[26]

The AL testifies that in the early fifth century there was already an established framework of the liturgical calendar with a developed festive system in terms of both the Lord's and the saint's cycles that followed the uninterrupted liturgical order.

3. Pap. Vindob. G 19.934

Manuscript of the papyri type from the Austrian National Library in Vienna dated from the sixth century.[27] Seven sheets were preserved, of which three are illegible since they are only pieces. The fragment was introduced recently by Christian Troelsgård as a hymnographic liturgical source. Troelsgård stressed that this source is very important in terms of the study of the early history of the eight-mode system.[28] He identified the texts of some hymns/troparia for the following feasts (according to Troelsgård's systematization).

Ir – Hymn for Christ in alphabetic acrostic from "M" to "O" (it is not clear whether it was for Christmas or for the Purification); hymn for St. Peter of Alexandria (November 25); the eighth ode of the Biblical odes (Dan. 3:52–56).

Iv – Hymn for Resurrection in alphabetic acrostic; hymn for St. Antony the Great (January 17).

IIr – Hymn for a saint/martyr (the end of the hymn was preserved, but it is not clear for whom); hymn for the newly baptized; hymn for a Church Father (St. Athanasios the Great on January 18? St. Macarius was celebrated on the same date); eulogy for bishop (Peter from Alexandria on November 25?)
IIv – Four chants for Christmas; *theotokion* (?).
IIIr – The continuation of the chants for Christmas; chant for Pentekost (?).
IIIv – Hymn for Pentekost (?), for the Ascension (?), for Christ (?); theotokion; eulogy for a martyr.
IVr – Eulogy for a saint.
IVv –?

Some modal signatures written in the right-hand margin can be seen clearly on the preserved texts: plagal mode 2 in the last two chants of f. IIr and plagal mode 3 in the last three chants of f. IIv. Troelsgård cited a signature for mode 4 in the first hymn for Christ on f. Ir.[29] According to him, the source was probably written somewhere in Chalcedon in a church belonging to the diocese of Alexandria; in all probability it is from a later time: its palaeographical characteristics go back to the sixth through seventh centuries.[30] Still, according to Troelsgård, its contents could be determined as a "primitive Tropologion": it was composed of troparia that could be performed in the eight modes with a corresponding psalmody.[31]

Comment. The source was unknown in the history of music until Troelsgård's publication. It turned out to be one of the earliest in which mode designations were revealed. The modal designations that were used provided evidence of a time before John of Damascus. According to Troelsgård, the initial arrangement of the pieces on the preserved sheets from first to fourth could be rearranged after a thorough analysis of the texts. The arrangement of the estimated feasts remains largely hypothetical. It is clear, however, that great Lord's feasts like Christmas or Candlemas, the Resurrection, the Ascension and Pentekost were written down, along with some feasts of saints. The fragment, having been determined as Tropologion by C. Troelsgård, is a testimony to the existence of the repertory in Greek of this book up to and around the time of Damascus. The modal signatures preserved in modes 4, plagal 2 and plagal 3 indicated an applied eight-mode system. The modes, however, were only used in some chants. Having in mind, as Troelsgård stressed, that the source was exquisite though written in a very literary way,[32] the availability only of some modal signatures could mean that the eight-mode system had not been fully and systematically applied to all liturgical texts yet at the time of its compilation. And if this is true, it could also mean that the eight-mode system in its early period was selectively applied, probably to some chants that were sung in certain modal areas and in certain liturgical contexts.[33]

4. Pap. Rylland 466

Manuscript, also of the papyri type, from the library of John Ryland in Manchester, seventh century.[34] It originates from Faiyum, Egypt. It has been suggested that it was written for some local church around the town. The fragment contains chants in mode 1 sung in the Orthros, doxologies after the eighth ode of the kanon and glorifications and troparia to the ninth ode. The rubric says that the glorifications were done according to the model of the troparion *Τὴν τιμιωτέραν τῶν Χερουβίμ*. They are repeated after each verse of the ninth ode.[35]

Comment. Until the publication about the Vienna papyrus fragment by C. Troelsgård, Ryland 466 was considered both "the earliest source" with a modal designation and "the earliest known kanon" with heirmoi repertory.[36] The source is also evidence of the existence of modal designations immediately prior to the time of Damascus.

5. Sinai 212

Greek manuscript from the library of St. Catherine's monastery. It is a Gospel-Epistle, 114 f., parchment, a small pocketbook, one of the earliest liturgical Sinai manuscripts that have been preserved. Its origin is dated between the end of the seventh and the ninth century.[37] Notes in Arabic were written above some rubrics, as in most of the Sinai manuscripts. The end of the manuscript is missing. Texts for Sundays of the Paschal time were included. Modal designations in order of the modes were put above the texts. Each new mode was introduced with an ornamental line.[38] The modal designations were written before or after the rubrics. One hand (of the main writer) had written them from mode 1 to plagal mode 2. The other hand, probably contemporary with the first writer or a later one, had written the designations for the two final modes – plagal 3 (βαρύς) and plagal 4 (πλ. δ′).

The more important notes that were revealed on the pages of the manuscript are the following.

1r – the initial rubric that was preserved reads: ἁγίου εὐαγγελίου (sic!) τὸ ἀνάγνωσμα. Mode 1 was designated as *authentikos*: αὐθ[εντικὸς].
69r – the margin reads: πρόψαλμα[39].
78r – again, the margin reads: πρόψαλμα and ἀλληλούϊα (the same designations were given in other places).

Comment. In Sinai 212 we find the eight-mode designations in **consecutive order**. In this respect, it is among the earliest manuscripts that document an established modal system applied to texts in Greek: Gospel texts that were performed recitative in the succession of the eight modes. The designation "authentikos" that was written for mode 1 is evidence of the early date of the manuscript: this designation was not revealed in manuscripts after the ninth

century. It is interesting to note that the same designation, "authentikos," was found in some of the earliest Western sources with modal designations, such as the Tonary of St. Riquier from the late eighth century.[40]

6. Georgian Lectionary (GL)

The Lectionary is known according to four major copies from the tenth century. It was translated from Greek into Georgian.[41] The AL is considered its immediate predecessor.[42] Helmut Leeb proved that the GL transmitted the Jerusalem cathedral liturgy, like the Diary of Egeria and the AL. There are indications in the GL of the liturgical order, served by the bishops taking part in the cathedral worship, and especially of readings and chants that were performed by them in this worship.[43] Almost all of the chants have modal designations.[44] Worship in the cathedral churches was performed in the morning and in the evening with selected chosen psalms: their meaning was consistent with the content of the feast.[45]

According to Anton Baumstark, the GL was compiled by the mid-eighth century, before the death of John of Damascus and Kosmas of Maiuma, because there were no observances of either of them in the source.[46] Leeb stressed that the main sources from which it was composed were written between the late fifth and the whole of the eighth century.[47] His argument about this dating was that material from the eighth century was included in the source, such as two troparia/stichera by Andrew of Crete – for Christmas and for Palm Sunday, chants for the memory of the Georgian saint Abo who was canonized after his death in 786, etc. According to J. F. Baldovin, the GL couldn't be dated precisely because it was a compilation of fragments of various manuscripts.[48] In any case, it provides evidence about the worship in Jerusalem during the time between the fifth and eighth centuries. Hence, the connection of this source with the "old" *Iadgari*/Tropologion that was discussed by S. Frøyshov (see Chapter 1) could be questioned, with respect to the border between the "old" and the "new" *Iadgari*/Tropologion – as the scholar has hypothesized – being the first half of the seventh century. That means that the GL, having included material from until the end of the eighth century, could be indicative of the "new" Tropologion, as well, the separate layers in it (the old and the new ones) should be taken into account.

The number of feasts in the GL is much greater than those of the AL: almost every day of the liturgical year has a memory for both a saint and a feast that should be celebrated.[49] **The liturgical year** starts with **Christmas** on December 25: it is separated from the Epiphany on January 6. **The arrangement of the repertory** from Christmas onwards is the following. **The Forfeast at the sixth hour on December 24.** It is followed by Vespers (*lucernare*/*λυχνικὸν*) and a midnight vigil: the latter is also prescribed for the Epiphany and the Resurrection. The structure of the Vespers is as follows:[50] [I] psalm 140 (*Kyrie, ekekraxa*) – evening hymn (*Fos hilaron*?) – poetical song; [II] psalm – [Old Testament readings for Lent] – Gospel – prayer – poetical song;

[III] *trisagion* (for the *eisodon*?). After Christmas, the feast of Sts. David and Jacob follows on December 26. Feasts for saints follow from December 26 to January 4, the **Epiphany** on January 6 and the days of the following week, feasts for saints again until **Purification**, which in this source is observed on February 2 (the latter date was established after the changed observation of Christmas on December 25).[51] **The Annunciation** was observed on March 25. Between March and April: **Lent** with two preliminary weeks – Meatfare and Cheesefare, six weeks of Lent, Palm week with a special emphasis on the **Saturday of Lazarus** in the sixth week of Lent, **Palm Sunday**, **Holy Week** and **Easter** with days of the Bright Week. Post-Paschal time is followed by the **Ascension** and **Pentekost**. After that, the immovable feasts for **saints** from **April to December** return. There are commemorations for almost every day. Furthermore, a feast for the Church with weekdays after, a repertory for **common offices** for the Virgin Mary, Holy Cross, Apostles, Prophets, Martyrs, Bishops, etc. are included.[52]

Comment. The GL documents the oldest structure of Quadragesima and Pentekost.[53] In addition to the AL, two new great feasts for the Virgin Mary are included here – the Annunciation on March 25 and the Presentation of the Blessed Virgin Mary on November 21. The introduction of these two feasts is proof of the great cult to the Virgin that was spread from the sixth century onwards.[54]

The study of the GL shows that several layers were preserved in it: the oldest one went back to the fifth century and could be compared with that of the AL; the most recent layer was from the eighth century.[55] H. Leeb pointed out two chants by Andrew of Crete as a late material. According to him, these chants belong to an earlier period of an *Urlektionar* of the seventh–eighth centuries.[56]

The most often included **hymnographic genres** in the GL are troparia, hypokoai, stichera and kanons. Leeb cited them according to their incipits. The designations of the genres are taken from Greek: *hypokoai*, *sticheroni*, kanons.[57] According to Gabriel Bertoniere, the last two designations (sticheron and kanon) are found here and in the *Iadgari* for the first time.[58] There are also prokeimena and alleluias.[59] Leeb stresses that unlike the AL, in which only the responsorial psalmody was used (the refrains were Biblical: they were taken from the psalms ending with glorification), in the GL an antiphonal psalmody is included, as well (the refrains were not Biblical). The hymnographic material in the GL backed up the conclusion that the community actively participated in worship: there were specifications for bishops, priests, deacons and people, which suggested that the performance was done by soloist/s, choir and communion. Leeb further stressed that the GL was the earliest document on public worship to contain a variety of collected liturgical chant poetry.[60]

As a whole, the GL testifies to a considerably more complicated liturgical repertory than that of the AL – the number of feasts is increased, along with the hymnographic material necessary for them. The source also reveals

a trend towards shortening the length of both services and processions. The basic change came from the stational liturgical system (processional church worship) in Jerusalem. According to Baldovin, the processions were shortened and the services were incorporated into one another, while they retained the basic framework of worship after Christmas was fixed on December 25 and became a separate feast.[61]

7. Garrett 24

Collection of eight fragments written on parchment. They have a common signature (Garrett 24) at the Firestone library in Princeton, New Jersey. The fragments were dated from the eighth through ninth centuries. One of them was written in three languages – Georgian, Syriac and Greek – the rest were written in Greek. J. Raasted identified the trilingual fragment as a Heirmologion;[62] the other seven were identified by P. Jeffery as belonging to different types of hymnographic books.[63] It seems likely that the fragments were grouped together because of their writing material (parchment scrolls)[64] and their contents: as Jeffery pointed out, the prevailing poetic form in them was the kanon. There were kanons attributed to John of Damascus, Kosmas of Maiuma and many other writers of their circle.[65] The fragments are arranged in the following way (according to Jeffery's systematization and classification).

A. Heirmologion. Late eighth century, eight folia. The largest fragment in the collection was written on f. 63–70. J. Raasted identified its text as heirmoi strophes of kanons.[66] He determined the source to be "the earliest Heirmologion," a copy of an older manuscript. Raasted believed that the prototype of the fragment was written by the end of the seventh century (according to the heirmoi, it could not have been written earlier than this date), while the fragment was written during the second half of the eighth century (*terminus ante quem*) or, at the very latest, the very beginning of the ninth century, around 800 (*terminus post quem*). According to the scholar, the fragment was a palimpsest: under the Georgian text there were texts in Greek and Syriac. This fact gave him reason to suggest that the fragment was written at the monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai.

The Belgian scholar J. Garrett reconstructed the text of the fragment and established that the Georgian text, which was the basic one, was written by John Zosime between 973 and 986, that is, later than the date established by Raasted.[67]

The kanons in the fragment are composed in the so-called "odo order" (OdO) as they are composed in the old Georgian and Slavic Heirmologia: the heirmoi of the first odes of all the kanons included in a given manuscript are exposed first, followed by the heirmoi of the second odes, heirmoi of the third ones, and so on.[68] At the beginning of each mode, Raasted identified the names of four poet-melodes as they appeared in the classical Byzantine Heirmologia: John of Damascus, Kosmas of Maiuma, Andrew of Crete

and Germanos Patriarch. Most of the heirmoi are attributed to the first two authors; one heirmos is attributed to the other two. This gave Raasted reason to suggest that the prototype of the fragment should have been written in Jerusalem or somewhere in Palestine: in the oldest Georgian manuscripts (they were translations from Greek and represented the Jerusalem tradition), most of the kanons were attributed to John and Kosmas. Hence, the Georgian Heirmologion in the collection of Garrett 24 should have been a translation of a lost Jerusalem Heirmologion in Greek. The latter was transmitted some time later to the Sinai monastery, where it was translated into Georgian and Syriac.

On f. 68v, line five in the heirmos of the fourth ode of the kanon in mode 2, attributed to Kosmas, Raasted revealed a neume sign *oksia* above the word *διὸ* that was placed at the beginning of the poetic text with dots on either side. This is one of the earliest neumated pieces. Raasted believed that the *theta*-notation was used, and the neume sign *oksia* suggested musical emphasis of the word by its ornamented intonation.[69] According to P. Jeffery, the sign *thematismos eso* was inscribed in the same place in the later Hirmologia. This gave him reason to determine the formula of *oksia* in the fragment as a "standard ornamental formula."[70]

B. Unidentified hymns in Greek from the ninth or the early tenth century.[71] The feast of the Annunciation is mentioned.

C. Menaion. Eighth or ninth century, two folia. The fragment contains the last two troparia (the third and fourth) of the ninth ode of the kanon for Christmas by Kosmas, two stichera and theotokion *dogmatikon*[72] in mode 2, stichera and kanons for the offices in June: St. Leontios (June 18) and St. Febronia (June 18). The fragment was determined by S. Frøyshov as a Tropologion of the "new" stage.[73]

D. Unidentified hymns in Greek from the end of the eighth or the ninth century. **Menaion?** The fragment contains chants for fixed feasts. The name Constantine appears. Jeffery suggested that it was probably the Emperor Constantine, whose memory was celebrated on May 7, in 351 Constantine II, still known as Constantius (317–361), and archbishop Cyril of Jerusalem (about 313–386), saw the sign of the Cross in the sky.[74] The feast of the Vision of the Holy Cross was included in the AL and also in Georgian and Syriac manuscripts.

E. Oktoechos. Ninth century, one folio. It contains resurrectional kanons (for Sunday) in mode plagal 4.

F. Two unidentified texts in Greek. The first one is a double palimpsest of the sixth century. The second one could be a Menaion of the eighth or the ninth century. In the latter, the name George appears (chants for the memory of St. George on April 23?).

G. Oktoechos. Ninth century, two folia. It contains two resurrectional kanons in mode 1. The first one is attributed to John; the second one is a theotokion devoted to the Virgin Mary.

H. Oktoechos. Ninth century, four folia. It also contains resurrectional kanons – in modes 1, 3 and plagal 4. The kanons are attributed to John of

Damascus. Jeffery suggested that it had included the whole resurrectional cycle of kanons in the eight modes, but it was not preserved.[75]

Comment. The fragments identified by Jeffery as Oktoechoi (E, G and H) give an idea of the early stage of the repertory of the Oktoechos. As can be seen, only resurrectional repertory is included in the fragments: kanons in modes 1, 2, 3 and plagal 4. Jeffery found similarities between the fragments in Garrett 24 and the newly found Sinai manuscripts and scrolls, in terms of writing and contents, in 1975.[76] The oldest of the newly found Sinai sources are described as a collection of troparia, stichera, heirmoi and kanons. They are dated at the same time as the fragments in Garrett 24 – from the eighth through ninth centuries.[77]

The following conclusions can be drawn from the early sources presented above.

First, according to Egeria and the AL, at the beginning of the fifth century there was already a relatively developed festal system of Lord's feasts, feasts for saints, confessors and martyrs: for Epiphany and Lent (the latter consisted of eight weeks along with the Preliminary period), for Palm Sunday and Holy Week with Great Thursday, Great Friday, Great Saturday and Easter, for the Ascension and Pentekost, for September 14, etc. It was established that this festal system became the norm for the liturgical calendar used in the East and West.[78]

Second, Vienna 19.934 of the sixth–seventh centuries, Ryland 466 of the seventh century, Sinai 212 of the late seventh–ninth centuries and the GL of the eighth century are among the earliest sources with modal designations.[79] They testify that the modal system was already in use at the time of Damascus. In all probability, this system was practiced before his time, perhaps during or at the end of the seventh century. The earliest systematized modal designations are revealed in chants of the resurrectional and common services:[80] such systematized modal designations are not found in the sources before the seventh century. John of Damascus was among the most active participants in this systematization. The modal repertory worked out was obviously recorded in a book intended for the annual liturgical cycle, according to the feasts of the church calendar. We know this book from the extended copies of the Georgian *Iadgari*. The earliest repertory of the Oktoechos is revealed in the latter.

Notes

1 According to the Russian scholar Olga Krasheninnikova, sources from the early Byzantine or Palestinian period of the development of liturgical work (fifth to the eighth centuries) have not been preserved. The only available sources about this time are the Georgian ones from the tenth century, see Крашенинникова, О. *Древнеславянский Октоих…*, с. 292.

2 Wilkinson, J. *Egeria's Travels to the Holy Land. Newly Translated with Supporting Documents and Notes*. Jerusalem and Warminster, 1981, pp. 73–88. See also Baldovin, J. F. The Urban Character of Christian Worship. *OCA*, 228. Roma,

1987, 59–64. It was suggested that the exact year in the Diary of Egeria was 383, see Talley, T. J. *The Origins of the Liturgical Year.* New York, 1986; 2d ed., Collegeville, MN, 1991, p. 38. From the description of the Diary, it is not clear which saints were celebrated by the end of the fourth century in Jerusalem, see McKinnon, J., ed. *Music in Early Christian Literature*. Cambridge, 1987, p. 111. The Diary of Egeria was translated into Serbian and published by Матејић, М. *Егерија. Путовања по светој земљи. Београд*, 2002.

3 Baldovin, J. F. The Urban Character…, p. 94.

4 Ibidem; Payne, R. M. *Christian Worship in Jerusalem in the Fourth and Fifth Centuries: The Development of the Lectionary, Calendar, and Liturgy.* Ph.D., Ann Arbor and London, 1982, p. 164. This was the beginning of the church year in Rome.

5 The same day was assigned to the Dedication of the Church in *Iadgari* (see the description above). In the modern calendar this is the Forfeast of the Elevation of the Cross, which is closest in meaning to the former as the Golgotha was connected first of all with the carrying of the Holy Cross. See Baldovin, J. F. The Urban Character…, p. 64.

6 The information given by different authors coincides, see Cody, A. The Early History of…, p. 109; Bradshaw, P. V. *The Search for the Origins of Christian Worship.* 2nd ed. New York, 2002, p. 185; Baldovin, J. F. *Liturgy in Ancient Jerusalem*. Nothingham, 1989, p. 37. According to the study of M. Momina and N. Trunte, during the sixth century only the Meatfare Sunday of the Preparatory season of Lent was known, see *Triodion und Pentekostarion*…, S. 34.

7 According to Winkler, G. The Armenian Night Office II: The Unit of Psalmody, Canticles, and Hymns with Particular Emphasis on the Origins and Early Evolution of Armenia's Hymnography. In: *Studies in Early Christian Liturgy and Its Context.* Variorum. Ashgate, 1997, 475–551 (p. 487).

8 According to Baldovin, J. F. *Liturgy*…, p. 30.

9 According to Baldovin, J. F. The Urban Character…, p. 58.

10 Mc Kinnon, J., ed. *Music in*…, p. 112; Baldovin, J. F. *Liturgy*…, p. 31. According to Baldovin, the morning psalm was 62. It was used for the same service in Antioch as well.

11 Egeria wrote that monks and nuns took part in Jerusalem (she called them, respectively, *monazontes* and *parthenae*). According to her, they participated in cathedral worship in the Holy City, see Senn, F. C. *Christian Liturgy.* Minneapolis, 1997, p. 114.

12 It was dated by H. Leeb before 440, see Leeb, H. Die Gesänge im Gemeindegottesdienst von Jerusalem (vom 5. bis 8. Jahrhundert). In: *Wiener Beiträge zur Theologie*. B. XXVIII. Wien, 1970, S. 31. The years of translation were not specified by A. Renoux, see Winkler, G. Der armenische Ritus…, S. 266. P. Jeffery pointed out the same years, see Jeffery, P. The Earliest Christian Chant Repertories Recovered: The Georgian Witnesses to Jerusalem Chant. – *JAMS*, 47, 1994, p. 9. T. Talley specified the years 417–439, see Talley, T. J. *The Origins of*…, p. 37.

13 It was proved by A. Renoux, crf. Baldovin, J. F. The Urban Character…, p. 65. From the beginning of the fifth century, the Armenian worship was strongly influenced by that of Jerusalem.

14 Jeffery, P. The Earliest Christian Chant…, p. 9. According to R. Taft, the two Lectionaries – the Armenian and the Georgian – represent Kanonaria-Synaxaria, that is, they were a kind of liturgical calendars containing the incipits for the readings of immovable and movable observances that were celebrated during the church year, see Taft, R. Christian Liturgical Psalmody: Origins, Development, Decomposition, Collapse. In: *Psalms in Community. Jewish and Christian Textual, Liturgical, and Artistic Traditions*. Ed. by H. W. Attridge and M. Fassler. Atlanta, 2003, 7–33 (p. 28).

15 About this see Bertoniere, G. The Historical Development of the Easter Vigil and Related Services in the Greek Church. *OCA*, 193, 1972, pp. 8–9.

16 According to P. Jeffery, such a fact shows that the process of translation and dissemination of the book is released more than once. Having cited R. Taft, Jeffery stressed that neither the Typikon of Studite monastery, nor this one of St. Sabas, came to us in their original form: we know them according to their various redactions ("adaptations") that were done in various monasteries at different times, having incorporated both earlier and later practices. Jeffery concluded that the spread of the Jerusalem worship did not occur once and everywhere simultaneously, but it was a long process that was documented in numerous and varied manuscripts, see Jeffery, P. Jerusalem and Rome…, p. 172; Taft, R. *The Liturgy of the Hours in East and West*. Collegeville, 1986, pp. 205–212.

17 The first two manuscripts are published, respectively, by F. C. Conybeare and Dom A. Renoux, see Wilkinson, J. *Egeria's Travels…*, p. 253; Baldovin, J. F. The Urban Character…, pp. 8–10, 64, 96. According to T. Talley, these manuscripts are translations from different prototypes; they transmit different stages of development of the Jerusalem worship during the first half of the fifth century. The cited Jerusalem manuscript is considered the earliest one, crf. Talley, T. J. *The Origins of…*, p. 38.

18 Wilkinson, J. *Egeria's Travels…*, 262–275. The feasts are also published by Conybeare, who gives them according to their various copies, discussing the differences that appeare in them, see Conybeare, F. C. *Rituale Armenorum*. Hildesheim, Zürich, New York, 2004, 507–527.

19 The same feast is observed on May 18 in the Paris copy.

20 Wilkinson calls it the "Ark of the Convent." In the modern calendar this is the feast of Laying Our Lady's Fair Robe in Blachernae.

21 At that place Wilkinson points out that the designation "Virgin Mary" was approved by the Council in Ephesus in 431, see Wilkinson, J. *Egeria's Travels…*, p. 274.

22 The systematization is according to Baldovin, J. F. *Liturgy…*, p. 42.

23 It was established after the First Council in Nicaea held at the beginning of the second quarter of the fourth century.

24 According to Bertoniere, G. The Historical Development…, p. 294.

25 In manuscript Jerusalem Arm. 121, a copy of the full text of the AL, in the rubric for December 25 the following inscription is added after the memory of Sts. Apostles Jacob and David: "Christmas is celebrated in other cities [on this date]," crf. Talley, T. J. *The Origins of…*, p. 139.

26 Leeb, H. Die Gesänge…, S. 31, 275. See also Payne, R. M. *Christian Worship in Jerusalem…*, p. 227, 273.

27 Treu, K. and J. Diethart. *Griechische literarische Papyri christlichen Inhaltes* II. In: *Mitteilungen aus der Papyrussamlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*. XVII Folge. Vienna, 1993 (Textband und Tafelband), 28–51.

28 Troelsgård, C. A New Source for the Early *Oktoechos*? Papyrus Vindobonensis G 19.934 and Its Musical Implications. In: *Proceedings of the 1st International Conference of the American Society of Byzantine Music, Hymnography*, 668–679. Published online: www.asbmh.pitt.edu/page 9/page 9.html; idem. Songs for the Theotokos. Pieces of Papyrus and the Early Byzantine Theotokia. In: *Cantus Planus*, 2013, 5–24: Papers read at the Fifteenth Meeting of the IMS Study Group in Dobogoko, Hungary, August 23–29, 2009, pp. 12–13.

29 According to C. Troelsgård, the designation βαρύς for mode plagal 3 was not yet in use; see Troelsgård, C. A New Source…

30 Ibidem, p. 676. Of the same time, the sixth–seventh centuries, the author still cited two other papyri with modal designations – Berol. 21319 and Vindob. G 41.261.

31 Ibidem, p. 675.

32 Ibidem, pp. 675–676.
33 This was established about Western music as well. An early eight-mode system was found there only in the repertory of antiphons and responsorial of the new services; in all probability the Old Roman chant has not known any modal classification, see Hiley, D. Plainchant Transfigured: Innovation and Reformation through the Ages. In: *Antiquity and the Middle Ages. From Ancient Greece to the 15th Century*. Ed. by J. McKinnon. New Jersey, 1991 pp. 132–133.
34 This is the so-called Ryland Papyrus 466, see Roberts, C. H. *Catalogue of the Greek and Latin Papyri in the John Rylands Library at Manchester*. Vol. IV. Manchester, 1952, p. 32. Of the same library – "John Ryland" in Manchester – there are another five Greek sources with Christian hymnographic texts of Coptic origin. They were written in Egypt during the time between the late seventh and the ninth centuries. An early diastematic notation was used in them. The musical signs of this notation represent a local system, which remains unknown. It is suggested that this system originates from Hermoupolis and that is why it is called the "Hermoupolis notation." Two of the five texts are found in Byzantine sources, see Papathanasiou, J. and N. Boukas. Early Diastematic Notation in Greek Christian Hymnographic Texts of Coptic Origin. A Reconsideration of the Source Material. In: *Palaeobyzantine Notations*. Vol. III. Ed. by G. Wolfram. Louven, Paris, and Dudley, MA, 2004, 1–25. The authors of the article stress that for now we do not know whether notation was used at the time of St. John of Damascus– the Coptic sources were not an argument for that.
35 Velimirović, M. Christian Chant in Syria, Armenia, Egypt, and Ethiopia. *New Oxford History of Music*. Vol. 2: *The Early Middle Ages to 1300*. Ed. by R. Crocker and D. Hiley. Oxford, NY, 1990, 3–66 (p. 45). The Biblical odes, like their successor the kanon, were performed between psalm 50 and the constant morning psalms 148–150.
36 Ibidem.
37 K. Clark dates this manuscript to the seventh century in his Checklist of the Sinai manuscripts; see Clark, K. Op. cit., p. 3. M. Kamil, in his *Cataloque*, dates it to the same century: "about the seventh century," see Kamil, M. *Catalogue of All Manuscripts in the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai*. Wiesbaden, 1970, p. 70. H. Husmann also dates the manuscript to the seventh century; see Husmann, H. Eine alte orientalische christliche Liturgie: altsyrisch-melkitisch. *OCP*, 42 (1976), 156–196. K. Aland, in his earlier publication of 1963, dates the manuscript of the eighth century but he has put forth a question about this date; see Aland, K. *Kurzgefasste Liste der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments*. Bd. 1. Berlin, 1963, S. 253. In his later publication of 1994 under the same title, Aland dates the manuscript to the ninth century. He determines it as a palimpsest whose original text (the lower one) probably should have contained psalms, see Aland, K. *Kurzgefasste Liste*…. Zweite, neubearbeitete und ergänzte Auflage. Berlin, New York, 1994, S. 269 (according to Aland's systematization, the manuscript is N 846). R. Taft cites the manuscript according to the Aland's second publication, and respectively dates it to the ninth century; see Taft, R. The βηματικον in the 6th/7th Century Narration of the Abbots John and Sophronius (BHGNA 1438w). An Exercise in Comparative Liturgy. *OCA*, 260, 2000, 675–693 (p. 679). In a private conversation with the author of this study, the well-known paleographer N. Kavrus-Hofman dated the manuscript to the end of the seventh century, according to its hymnographic-palaeographic data. D. Galadza, in one of his last studies, paid special attention to this manuscript. He dates it according to the second publication of K. Aland – to the ninth century. Having described the source, Dr Galadza observed especially the places with the remark *propsalmon*, which, according to him, was a designation for responsorial psalms sung before the Gospels, meaning "to sing in

anticipation" or "to sing in the presence of or before," see Galadza, D. Two Greek Ninth-Century Sources of the Jerusalem Lectionary: Sinai Gr. 212 and Sinai Gr. NE МГ 11. *BBGG*, 3s., vol. 11, 2014, 79–113 (p. 107).

38 The modal designations are pointed out by H. Husmann, see Husmann, H. Eine alte orientalische…, 156–196.

39 This refrain is discussed by liturgists. M. Skabalanovich determines it as a prokeimenon sung before the psalm, see Скабалланович, М. *Толковый Типикон*. Вып. 2. Киев, 1913, с. 137. R. Taft observes it as a synonym of prokeimenon or a refrain sung in Jerusalem, see Taft, R. *Divine Liturgies – Human Problems in Byzantium, Armenia, Syria, and Palestine*. Variorum. Ashgate, 2001, p. 678.

40 See Jeffery, P. The Earliest Oktoechoi…, p. 163. The Tonary started with the incipit *Autentus protus*. The same designation "autentus" for the authentic mode is encountered in other early western manuscripts, see Jeffery, P. Ibidem, p. 165. P. Jeffery discusses the modal designations "first," "second" and "fourth" in regard to the "protomartyr" (a liturgical term for the first martyr, St. Steven), *deuteronomium* (a book of the five Old Testament books) and *tetarcha* (the title of King Herod in Luke 3:1), see Jeffery, P. Ibidem, p. 167. The designation "authentikos" is revealed in one of the newly found Sinai Greek manuscripts, the Sinai palimpsest of about the ninth century. The first sticheron there, which is for the service of St. John Chrysostom on January 27, reads: "mode 4 authentikos," see Charlesworth, J. H. *The New Discoveries in St. Catherine's Monastery: A Preliminary Report on the Manuscripts*. Winona, 1981, p. 29. C. Troelsgård observes this manuscript, as well, and on the grounds of the same designation concludes that in the western (Latin) terminology in which the opposition "authentic – plagal" mode was used, the designation "authentikos" was not a neologism but was taken from the eastern terminology, see Troelsgård, C. Songs for the Theotokos…, p. 14.

41 Leeb, H. Die Gesänge…, S. 30, 25–26.

42 According to G. Bertoniere, the GL transmits a parallel worship of this in the AL, see Bertoniere, G. The Historical Development…, p. 11.

43 Leeb, H. Die Gesänge…, S. 22. Leeb and Taft call this source *Kanonar* for the pre-Byzantine cathedral worship in Jerusalem, see Leb, H. Op. cit., S. 23. Taft specifies that the Georgian Lectionary is the earliest source stemming from Jerusalem that gives detailed information about chants performed in the Eucharist. Unlike the Armenian Lectionary, it does not say anything about the chants that were performed, see Taft, R. Christian Liturgical Psalmody…, p. 28.

44 Leeb, H. Die Gesänge…, S. 33. K. Thodberg also notices that in the Georgian Lectionary all the modes were applied. More rarely, the mode plagal 3, *varys*, is used. According to him, the Georgian Lectionary ends with an Oktoechos, see Thodberg, C. Der byzantinische Alleluiarionzyklus: Studien im kurzen Psaltikonstil. *MMB*, 8, Subsidia. Copenhagen, 1966, S. 34; see also Jeffery, P. The Lost Chant Tradition…, p. 157.

45 It used the so-called by O. Strunk "distributed Psalter," see Strunk, O. The Antiphons of the Oktoechos. In: *Essays on Music in the Byzantine World*. Ed. by K. Levy. New York, 1977, 165–190.

46 According to Leeb, H. Die Gesänge…, S. 30.

47 Ibidem, 29–30. Other researchers observe an earlier date of its compilation. M. Momina, for instance, considers it to be a century earlier – from the time of Patriarch Sophronios of Jerusalem, between 634 and 644, see Момина, М. О происхождении…, с. 112–113. K. Kekelidze ascribes the Greek original of the Lectionary to Sophronios, which is disputed by F. M. Abel, A. Dmitrievsky, and H. Leeb because the Georgian Lectionary already contains a memory for St. Sophronios of Jerusalem, see Leeb, H. Die Gesänge…, S. 32. P. Jeffery dates the source up to the eighth century, see Jeffery, P. The Earliest Christian Chant…, p. 11; idem. The Lost Chant Tradition…, p. 157.

48 Baldovin, J. F. The Urban Character…, p. 72.
49 The information is according to Leeb, H. Die Gesänge…, 24–26; Baldovin, J. F. The Urban Character…, 74–76.
50 Baldovin, J. F. The Urban Character…, p. 102. The division into three parts was made by this book's author. The first two parts are structured in a very similar way: they start with a psalm and end with a poetical song.
51 Baldovin, J. F. *Liturgy*…, p. 36.
52 Leeb determines them as "Kommuneoffizien", that is, common or general. They are given in the Chapter 3 here.
53 Момина, М. О происхождении…, с. 112. The author establishes that the older was the source, the less preparatory Sundays of the period of Lent were included in it. Momina still states that the antiphons for passions (she meant maybe the Good Friday) that are considered works of Sophronios of Jerusalem, are preserved. The comparison with later manuscripts shows that the order of the antiphons and the composition of troparia does not coincide in full.
54 See Baldovin, J. F. *Liturgy*…, p. 42.
55 Leeb, H. Die Gesänge…, S. 28–30.
56 Ibidem, S. 30.
57 Ibidem, S. 31, 157. Leeb listed about 50 hypokoai. According to Momina, only troparia and hypakoai were indicated. There was no difference between troparion and sticheron, see Момина, М. О произхождении…, с. 113. Some distinction, however, should have been made, as there was a special term for the stichera, cited as "sticheroni" by Leeb, see Leeb, H. Die Gesänge…, S. 31.
58 Bertoniere, G. The Sundays of Lent in the Triodion: The Sundays without Commemoration. *OCA*, 253, 1997, p. 39.
59 K. Thodberg lists about 150 alleluias in GL, see Thodberg, C. Der byzantinische Alleluiarionzyklus…, S. 34.
60 Leeb, H. Die Gesänge…, S. 34.
61 Baldovin, J. F. The Urban Character…, 76–100. According to Bertoniere, the changes in the stational worship in Jerusalem reflected the changes caused by the Arabic invasions and destructions, see Bertoniere, G. The Historical Development…, p. 11.
62 Raasted, J. The Princeton Heirmologion Palimpsest. *Cahiers de l'Institut du Moyen-Age Grec et Latin*, 62, 1992, 219–232. See a critique of this definition in: Бруни, А. М. Древнеславянский ирмологий…, с. 310.
63 Jeffery, P. A Window of the Formation of the Medieval Chant Repertories: The Greek Palimpsest Fragments in Princeton University MS Garrett 24. In: *Cantus Planus*. Vol. 2. Budapest, 2003, 1–23 (pp. 14–15).
64 Ibidem: "scrolls".
65 Ibidem, p. 13.
66 Raasted, J. The Princeton…, 219–232. S. Frøyshov also considers this "the earliest preserved witness to the Heirmologion," see Frøyshov, S. S. Greek Hymnody…, p. 34.
67 Garitte, G. Aventures et mesaventures d'un manuscript georgien (le cod. Garrett 24, Princeton). *Bedi Cartlisa*, 23–24, 1967, 37–52.
68 About the composition of the kanons in the old Slavic manuscripts, see Velimirović, M. Byzantine Elements in Early Slavic Chant. *MMB*, IV, Subsidia, 2 vols. Copenhagen, 1960.
69 Raasted, J. The Princeton…, p. 224.
70 Jeffery, P. A Window…, p. 19.
71 According to Jeffery, P. A Window…, pp. 14–21.
72 It was probably meant to be troparion and sticheron. The theotokia dogmatika are not documented as such at that time.

73 Frøyshov, S. S. Greek Hymnody…, p. 32. S. Frøyshov considers two other manuscripts as belonging to the "new" Tropologion: Sinai MΓ 56-5 from the eighth–ninth century (see Chapter 5) and the fragment of the Russian National library in Saint Petersburg. Gr. VII, originating from the Sinai monastery as well – a Greek-Georgian palimpsest that was discussed as the earliest possible representative of the "new" Tropologion. In the latter manuscript, chants for the Epiphany, St. Antony on January 17 and for the Purification on February 2 were included. Frøyshov stresses that the texts of the cited manuscripts are similar to those attributed in other sources to Sophronios of Jerusalem, Kosmas of Maiuma and John the Monk (Damascus). On that basis, Frøyshov dates the fragment in Garett 24 to the eighth century. In doing so, he rejects the opinion of V. Vasilik, who dates it from a much earlier time – the sixth century, see ibidem, pp. 31–32; see also Vasilik, V. V. A New Source for the History of Early Palestinian Hymnography. In: *Byzantinoslavica*, 58, 1977, 311–337.

74 Jeffery, P. A Window…, p. 16.

75 Ibidem, p. 17.

76 Ibidem, p. 20.

77 About these manuscripts see Νολόπουλος, Π. Γ. et al. *Ἱερὰ μονὴ καὶ Ἀρχιεπισκοπὴ Σηνᾶ. Τὰ νέα εὑρήματα τοῦ Σηνᾶ Ἀθῆναι*, 1998, 154–156, 251–265, plates 30–39, 93–103. See also the English translation of the same book: *New Finds of Sinai*. Athens, 1999.

78 See Wegman, H. A. J. *Christian Worship in East and West*. New York, 1985, p. 79.

79 P. Jeffery, considering the early Oktoechoi, does not mention these sources: the earliest modal designations that he cites are from the eighth and ninth centuries, see Jeffery, P. The Earliest Oktoechoi…, 207–208. C. Troelsgård points out a Vienna papyrus from the sixth to seventh century, N 41.261, as the earliest source where the designation *echos* (mode) is encountered: "mode 4," see Troelsgård, C. Songs for the Theotokos…, p. 13.

80 P. Jeffery characterizes these services as intended for "the less important periods of liturgical time throughout the year that were assembled only after the Proper texts for the major feast days" (he means those of the Menaion), see Jeffery, P. The Earliest Oktoechoi…, p. 207.

3 The Georgian *Iadgari*

The study of the book of *Iadgari* is still in its infancy. It is obvious that this book, along with the two Lectionaries (the fifth-century Armenian and the eighth-century Georgian) presented in the previous chapter, is of extremely great importance: the *Iadgari* provides evidence of a very early stage in the development of Christian worship in Jerusalem, and especially of chants that were performed there. As mentioned already, the *Iadgari* has been observed to be the earliest hymnographic book with non-biblical material to appear as a translation from Greek of the book of Tropologion.[1] It has been suggested that the Georgian translations were done by Georgian monks in monasteries near the Holy City. The aim of these monks was to popularize the worship of Jerusalem in their home country in their native language (Georgia itself is located near Jerusalem). It was testified that between the seventh and the tenth centuries the St. Sabas monastery was a very important center for Georgian men of letters: Georgians settled there during the sixth and seventh centuries.[2] Obviously, Jerusalem worship was perceived in Georgia. This worship was practiced in the Georgian churches that maintained close relationships with St. Sabas monastery.[3] Since the *Iadgari* reflected Jerusalem worship, the origin of the modal system which is revealed in this book should also have been connected with Jerusalem.[4]

The study of the seven preserved copies of the *Iadgari* confirms that the book bears witness to the very early stages of development of both worship and hymnography in Jerusalem dating back to the fifth century – a considerably earlier time than that of the preserved written sources. According to K. Kekelidze, the word *Iadgari* in Georgian means memory, remembrance of something.[5] P. Jeffery interprets this meaning as "memory for singers": originally the *Iadgari* was a book compiled to help singers who performed the whole repertory orally. *Iadgari* was the first attempt at recording a repertory transmitted in an oral way. Before being recorded, it existed only in the memory of singers.[6] The translation of the word *Iadgari* as "memory," however, could also be interpreted as "memory of saints": the *Iadgari* was a book in which were the recorded memories of saints who were celebrated on determined dates.[7] This interpretation could be supported by the fact that the core of the book was made up of the chants from the Menaion and

Triodion yearly cycles: those of the Menaion cycle were extremely rich in determined dates for the saints.[8] G. Winkler, who compares *Iadgari* with the Armenian Lectionary of the fifth century, interprets the word *Iadgari* in similar sense.[9] The initial rubric of the Armenian Lectionary reads: "A memory for the synaxis [N.B., S.K.: the Vitas of the saints] performed in Jerusalem."[10]

The problems discussed about the study of the *Iadgari*, since the book became known to scholars, relate to the liturgical calendar with designated services as well as the book's contents, structure, composition, included genres and the liturgical practice that it transmitted. Scholars are also concerned with the time of the book's compilation, the method of its creation and its relationships with other liturgical hymnograhic books.

The liturgical calendar in *Iadgari* starts with the Annunciation on March 25 and is followed by Christmas on December 25. The *Iadgari* points to a well-established calendar. It is one of the earliest books in which the dates of the feasts are specified and listed according to the church calendar. The Annunciation being connected with the time of Christmas presents an older tradition when the former festival had not yet been established as an independent one: the festal cycle of Theotokos was formed by the sixth century and its history was rather complicated.[11] One of the first established feasts for the Virgin was the Annunciation: from the very beginning it was closely linked with Christmas.[12] This old calendar in which the Annunciation was linked to Christmas goes back to the time before 560. It is well known that after this year the emperor Justinian the First (about 482–565) reorganized the calendar, as the Annunciation was separated from Christmas and assigned to its actual date on March 25.[13]

Christmas is at the beginning of the church year in all the early sources from both the East and the West. The studies show that Christmas started to be celebrated on December 25 from the fourth century onwards, until then it was celebrated along with the Epiphany on January 6. The earliest source that testifies to its separation from the Epiphany and its placement on December 25 is from 354.[14] However, according to the Georgian Lectionary, December 25 was not included in the calendar of Jerusalem until about the end of the sixth century – up to that time both feasts were celebrated together there.[15] Christmas in the Georgian Lectionary was observed on December 25, sure evidence that this source, whose origin was linked with the Holy City, had been written by as early as the seventh century (see further).

The contents, composition and structure of the book are of particular significance and among the most important issues to be investigated. According to the edition of Elena Metreveli and other Georgian scholars on which all later studies are based (such as A. Wade's and P. Jeffery's), the repertory in the book is organized into several cycles. The most important of these are the yearly cycle of immovable feasts for the twelve months of the liturgical year and the movable ones for the periods of Lent, Easter and Pentekost; the resurrectional cycle for eight Sundays in the eight modes; and the cycle of

chants for the Theotokos, resurrection services and the classes of deceased (for the dead and for the ones who have fallen asleep), of repentance, etc. that are grouped together in the eight modes. The last cycle is known as "common services" – the services that were necessary for weekday worship. The names of the days are not fixed yet.[16] The chants for the immovable and movable feasts are arranged in a **continuous liturgical calendar order**: the movable ones were placed between the Purification on February 2 and the feast of St. George on April 23. Feasts for Lent, starting with Meatfare Sunday, and for Easter time are included within these two dates.[17] There are over fifty feasts cited in the *Iadgari* for the whole liturgical year: there are none in October, one is listed for March but it is put in December and there is one in April.[18] A. Wade published the contents of *Iadgari* according to the studies of the Georgian scholars.[19] The order of the feasts, listed below, is mainly according to his publication, with some comments. Wade divided the material in the *Iadgari* into several sections.[20]

I Immovable and movable feasts according to the Menaion and Triodion-Pentekostarion yearly cycles:

March: 25 – the Annunciation.

Comment. As it was said, the Annunciation was celebrated before Christmas in the calendar preceding the one established by Justinian I, somewhere until the mid-sixth century. The Annunciation, to Justinian, was the feast of the Incarnation, and that is why it was more important for him than Christmas; the latter was determined by the Incarnation. The rearrangement of the feasts reflected deep theological semantics. The copies of *Iadgari* from the ninth and tenth, up to the twelfth, centuries have preserved an **archaic tradition** that at the time of their writing had long been changed.[21]

December: 25 – Christmas; 26 – David and Jacob; 27 – St. Steven; 28 – Sts. Peter and Paul; 29 – St. Jacob the Apostle and John the Evangelist.

Comment. Five feasts are listed for December. The last two feasts – for December 28 and 29 – are not included in the modern Orthodox calendar that has otherwise kept and brought many rather old feasts to us over the centuries.[22] The feast of St. Steven was included in the calendar by the end of the fifth century when his cult had especially grown and spread after the discovery of his relics in 415.[23] M. Skabalanovich observes the feast of the saints Peter and Paul on December 28 as one of the oldest. He discusses it according to the earliest Christian Menologion preserved in Syriac that was compiled between 370 and 400 and known according to a manuscript from 411.[24] In this Menologion, the classes of bishops, presbyters and deacons that died as martyrs in Persia are listed in a hierarchical order. It was suggested that in the East the memory of the two apostles was celebrated on December 28 somewhere up to the fifth century.[25] The copies of the *Iadgari* represent an archaic tradition in this respect.

January: 1 – τῶν ἀρχιερέων; 6 – Epiphany and the week with eight days following, up to and including January 13 (this is the so-called "octave"): the second day, January 7, is marked as the feast of St. Abo; the Sunday after the Epiphany is designated as "Easter of the Epiphany"; 17 – St. Antony; 18 – the Fathers; 29 – the Apparition of the Cross (a Vision of emperor Constantine).

Comment. Six feasts are listed for January. According to Wade, the feast on January 1, stated as a feast of archbishops, refers to the bishops from Jerusalem:[26] the memory of St. Basil the Great is not indicated on this date in the *Iadgari*. St. Abo was a Georgian saint whose memory was regularly included in the Georgian liturgical books. His inclusion in the book of *Iadgari* testifies that in the early times local saints could have been included in the liturgical calendars. January 29 has the same commemoration in another Syriac Lectionary from the early sixth century. In terms of this, the copies of the *Iadgari* testify to a preserved older tradition, as well.

February: 2 – The Meeting/Council (this is the designation and not the Presentation of the Lord or the Purification); **Lent** begins: Meatfare Sunday; Cheesefare Sunday with the days from Monday through Saturday; first Saturday of St. Theodore; the second Sunday and the week after from the second Monday through Saturday; the third Sunday and the week after from the third Monday through Saturday; the fourth Sunday and the week after from the fourth Monday through Saturday: the fourth Saturday was indicated to commemorate the Forty Martyrs; the fifth Sunday and the week after from the fifth Monday through Saturday; the sixth Sunday and the week after from the sixth Monday through the sixth Saturday: that of **Lazarus**; **Palm Sunday** and the days of **Holy Week**; **Easter**; extensive texts are included for each day of the Bright Week; New Sunday; the second Saturday of Easter: of the Paralytic; the Thursday of the third (week?) of Easter: of the Infants; some days of the fourth, fifth and sixth weeks after Easter.

Comment. Twenty-two festivals are indicated in this section: one is immovable and the rest are movable according to the Triodion-Pentekostarion cycle. February 2 was the Presentation of Our Lord in the Temple or the Purification. After it, Lent begins with the two last Sundays of the Preparatory season – Meatfare and Cheesefare. The first two Sundays of this period – of the Publican and Pharisee and of the Prodigal Son – are missing. The Saturday before the first Sunday in Lent was meant by the "first Saturday," that of the great martyr St. Theodore Tyron.[27] Next, only Sundays are counted – they are not indicated yet with their modern designations that are systematically encountered in manuscripts from the twelfth century onwards, namely, Sunday of St. Gregory of Palama, of the Holy Cross, of St. John of the Ladder and of Venerable Maria of Egypt.[28]

April: 23 – St. George.

Comment. Only one feast is indicated here – obviously the greatest one in this month – of St. George.

May: 7 – the Apparition of the Cross; the sixth Thursday – of the **Ascension**; the sixth Saturday – of the Healing of the Blind Man; the seventh Sunday – **Pentekost**.

Comment. Four feasts are indicated. The sixth Thursday of the Ascension was calculated from the Thursday after Easter and Bright Thursday was counted as the first Thursday of the first week after Easter.

June: 25 – the Nativity of John [the Baptist]: "according to the Greek way"; 26 – St. Febronia; Athenagenes – of the Apostles.

Comment. Three feasts are listed; the Birth of St. John the Baptist was a post-Justinian feast. It is on June 24 in the modern calendar. St. Febronia is celebrated on June 25 according to the modern calendar. The feast of Athenagenes is the seventh Sunday after Pentekost.

August: 6 – Transfiguration of Christ; 15 – Assumption of the Virgin Mary.

Comment. Two of the greatest festivals in August are indicated – one for the Lord and one for the Theotokos. It was established that the feast of Transfiguration was introduced during the fourth century, after the triumph of Christianity over the Arian heresy, which questioned the Holy Trinity at the First Ecumenical Council of Nicaea in 325.[29]

June: 29 – The Holy Apostles Peter and Paul.

Comment. June returns after August (it is possible that the leaves were misplaced?) with one of the greatest feasts in this month. The commemoration of the Apostles Peter and Paul are indicated for the second time in the book – after December 28. According to A. Wade, the June feast for the two apostles was introduced to reflect the practice of the Roman Church.[30] Obviously it was introduced very near the time when the *Iadgari* or, respectively, its Greek original was compiled.

July: 15 – St. Kyrikos; 26 – St. Thekla.

Comment. Two feasts for July are listed. A. Wade noticed that there was no hymnography for July 15 (chants were not indicated) – probably because the saints of smaller rank are celebrated on this date.[31] The necessary material for them was taken from the common services. There is no commemoration of St. Thekla on July 26 in the modern calendar.

August: 29 – the Beheading of St. John the Baptist.[32]

Comment. This feast is separated from the other two great feasts in August that were cited above.

September: 8 – the Nativity of the Mother of God; 13 – Inauguration of the Church; 14 – the Elevation of the Holy Cross and the following weekdays; 24 – St. Thekla; 27 – the Silence of Zachariah; 28 – St. Chariton the Confessor.

Comment. Of the six listed feasts, five remain in the modern calendar. The feast on September 13, the Inauguration of the Church, which is linked with the Inauguration of the great church "St. Anastasis" ("St. Resurrection") in Jerusalem,[33] is missing in the modern calendar, but it is close in its meaning to the great feast on the following day, the Elevation of the Holy Cross. St. Thekla was celebrated twice a year in the earlier time – in July and in September.

November: 3 – St. George; 14 – The Holy Archangels (a feast of the souls and the deceased).

Comment. The second great feast of St. George is written as the beginning of November.[34] There is no feast of St. Archangels on November 14 in the modern calendar. This date is designated there as Christmas Lent – a feast linked in meaning with that of the Holy Archangels.

November is the final month from the Menaion-Triodion cycle in the *Iadgari*. The church year then ran from December through November, starting with the Annunciation –Christmas.[35]

II For the deceased.

Comment. Wade does not cite any exact rubric for chants in this section.[36] As it was said, the chants for the deceased in manuscripts in Greek from the ninth century onwards are indicated in two ways: *νεκρώσιμα* (here they are referred to as "deceased") and *ἀναπαύσιμα* or *κοιμητέντες* (referred to as "asleep").

III Hypakoai and prokeimena.

Comment. In this section, Wade lists all the major feasts with chants included, from Christmas through the Ascension up to Pentekost, etc. The hypakoe paraphrases a verse of a psalm: it was sung as a response/refrain by the community during processions. In the early Christian time, the stational liturgy with processions was very developed in Jerusalem.[37] According to E. Wellesz, initially a troparion was sung by the whole community in the Orthros as a response to the verses of psalm 118 (the so-called *ἄμωμοι*, "virtuous"). Later this troparion, already designated as hypakoe, started to be sung after the third ode of the kanon.[38] M. Skabalanovich pointed out that during the fourth century the chanting to each verse of a given psalm was called *ὑπήχειν, ὑπάκυειν*; the verse itself that was chanted was called *ὑπακοή*: the hypokoe and the kathismata were sung as an introduction to the readings that followed them.[39] S. Frøyshov outlined three groups of hypokoe, along with kathismata, according to two Georgian *Iadgari* manuscripts, Sinai Georgian 40 and Tbilisi H-2123: (1) four hypokoe for the deceased; (2) four resurrectional kathismata and hypokoe; and (3) four kathismata and hypokoe for the angels (ἀσωμάτων).[40]

IV Troparia of Resurrection.[41]

Comment. In the early times, the designation troparia very often referred to stichera. These are two cognate genres, which had no difference in their early use, as most of the scholars point out.[42] Skabalanovich, for

instance, states that the stichera for praise are called troparia in the description of the seventh-century Sinai Orthros.[43] The section of the resurrectional troparia in *Iadgari* represents a full resurrectional Oktoechos. This is the earliest one to be determined as such by the researchers of this book.[44] The repertory is for Resurrection and is grouped into eight Sundays. Various chants in the eight-mode succession are included, with troparia/stichera, alleluias, prokeimena and kanons.[45]

V Troparia of Repentance in the eight modes.

Comment. Wade cites them as a separate group. In later manuscripts in Greek from the ninth century onwards, this might have been the group of stichera and kathismata under the rubric *κατανυκτικὰ*. The theme of repentance first entered the monastic worship in the fourth–fifth centuries. It entered the mainstream of chants very soon after, since it enabled the continuous recognition of sins and therefore the expectation of forgiveness.[46]

VI Troparia of Those Gone to Rest (or Troparia of the deceased) in the eight modes.

Comment. It is not clear which of the troparia were meant: those designated in later manuscripts as *νεκρώσιμα* or as *ἀναπαύσιμα* and *κοιμητέντες*?

VII and VIII. Supplement to sections I and II.

Comment. It is not clear what was included in these sections – Wade did not provide any description of them.[47]

The chant repertory for the services in the *Iadgari* is presented as follows.[48]

For **Vespers:** troparia (respectively stichera) to one of the oldest Vespers psalms, 140, *Kyrie ekekraxa (Lord I cry to You)*, ascribed to St. John of Damascus; prokeimenon (G. Winkler calls it by its Georgian designation – "psalmuni");[49] hypakoe[50] and a verse identified as *dasadebeli* in Georgian (G. Winkler gives the same collective meaning as both poetical refrain or troparion, see further).[51] For the **Eucharist:** prokeimenon, verse (dasadebeli), troparion for the Entrance (*oxitai/obitai*[52]), troparion after the Gospel (*beltabanisai*), alleluia, troparion for the procession of the gifts, *lavabo* and communion.[53] For **Midnight service:** eleven Old Testament readings with psalms and their respective troparia that end with prokeimena, a verse and the Gospel.[54] For the **Orthros:** troparia to the kanon with all nine odes;[55] for the Orthros in Lent there are chants attributed to John of Damascus; poetical chants (non-biblical) are indicated after the Gospel, and also stichera to the psalms 148–150 (Winkler points out that more kanons and stichera were performed after the morning psalms 148–150, especially those with the designation *ἄλλος*, that is, "other").[56] After the Orthros, Winkler gives the **liturgy** – with troparion for the Entrance (obitai), prokeimenon, verse, alleluia, troparion after the Gospel (beltabanisai) and troparion to the procession of the gifts.[57] Wade and Jeffery mention a second Vespers that was performed at some feasts as well as in stational processional services after

the Eucharist.[58] It is not specified exactly which chants are performed in these services.

As a whole, the **genres** that are indicated in the *Iadgari* are the following: psalms, prokeimena, alleluias and communions of the psalmodic kind, and troparia, stichera kathismata, kanons, hypakoai and beatitudes of the hymnodic kind.[59] In the section of the Oktoechos, all the chants are for both the resurrectional worship (Saturday Vespers and Sunday) and the common services.[60] It becomes clear from the scholarly descriptions of the contents of the *Iadgari* that the resurrectional stichera, or anastasima, constitute a compact group. Some of them were identified with stichera and troparia that were included in later manuscripts under the name stichera *anatolika*, one of the oldest resurrectional stichera for Saturday Vespers and Sunday,[61] stichera *aposticha* that were sung after the verse/verses, etc.[62] E. Metreveli reports the presence of the kathismata and hypokoai for all feasts of both the yearly and weekly liturgical cycles.[63] The beatitudes were not mentioned directly. It could be suggested, however, that there were such chants insofar as some of them were performed at the beginning of the Eucharist.[64] Such was the liturgical position of the beatitudes – troparia ascribed to patriarch Sophronios of Jerusalem that were sung to the verses of the Gospel beatitudes at the beginning of the Eucharist; they were chanted in the eight modes and, respectively, entered the repertory of the Oktoechos.[65]

The designations kanon and sticheron are encountered here and in the GL for the first time. As Gabriel Bertoniere stresses, these two hymnographic forms are not known from the earlier sources: the *Iadgari* is evidence of their introduction in the chant practice of Jerusalem worship – its earliest time was almost surely the end of the seventh century.[66] This is evidenced by the famous story about the meeting of the Palestinian abbots John and Sophronios with the Sinai abbot Nilus in the first half of the seventh century. The conversation between them referred to the cathedral service. The performance of various chants is mentioned, including troparia, prokeimena, propsalmata (a synonym of a refrain/responsorium in Jerusalem), cheroubika and communion chants; that is, chants that precede the form of the kanon, though, the kanon is not mentioned.[67] Also, the form of the sticheron is not mentioned.[68] The Georgian scholars point out that the kanon occupied a central place in both the Menaion and the Triodion cycles in the *Iadgari.* They discuss that the majority of the kanons contain a "second full kanon" with nine odes; the second kanons bear the designation ἄλλος ("other");[69] there are also kanons with two, three and four odes.[70] Additionally, more than one kanon is included in some services. The kanons are designed for both the festal and the common services.[71] Their study shows, as it was already said, that they do not yet contain a heirmos as a model strophe, that is, the strophe determining both the melodic and the rhythmic structure of the rest of the odes: apparently at this time the kanon was still closely tied to the Biblical odes. Also, at that time the ninth ode was not designated as theotokion yet, that is, it was not designed for praise of the Virgin, the Theotokos.[72]

Of the chants for common services, there are not only resurrectional chants but also for the repentance and for the dead provided. It is possible that stavrosima (for the Holy Cross) and theotokia chants were sung as well: P. Jeffery mentions psalm 133 that was performed at the lithy on the way to Calvary, that is, when the Holy Cross was carried.[73] An argument for that could be found in the study of H. Leeb who, investigating the Georgian Lectionary, describes texts for the common services according to two copies. Among the chants, those for the Theotokos, the Holy Cross, apostles, prophets, martyrs, bishops, righteous, blessed, confessors, emperors and for consecration of the Church are listed.[74]

As mentioned in the first chapter here, the Georgian scholars consider the genres in the *Iadgari* to be related to two main layers organically linked with one another: an "old" one, comprised of psalms and troparia of various kinds that had been composed by anonymous poets from the fifth to the seventh centuries, and a "new" one, composed of stichera and kanons that were compiled during the time between the seventh and the ninth centuries.[75] The psalms are of the prokeimena type, and the alleluias are among the earliest emerging refrains.[76] They represent verses performed between the psalms and biblical odes.[77]

The history of the refrains could be traced back to early times. Initially they arose as verses to psalms and Biblical odes. Later on, they were added to in order to both explain their meaning and to increase the festal character of great feasts, such as Easter and the Epiphany.[78] Refrains with non-biblical content began to be compiled with the same meaning. They were named, in Greek, "troparia": troparia were the earliest non-biblical refrains.[79] The introduction of troparia that commented on psalm verses was considered one of the most important changes in the festal chant system in Jerusalem by the fifth century.[80] H. Leeb has found evidence of this in an effort to better understand theology: the poetical chants were arranged according to theological topics transmitting the history of the life of Christ. H. Leeb characterized such an arrangement as *Theologie im Gesang*.[81] C. Hannick stressed that with the introduction of troparia to the psalms that had to explain their meaning, the border of distinction between books of Scripture was crossed, that is, the border between the Old and the New Testaments: it sought the reconstruction of integrity in the history of salvation.[82]

According to recent studies, the oldest troparia were short refrains performed to Biblical odes in the Easter midnight service: as mentioned above, Easter was the earliest festival celebrated by all Christians.[83] Initially, the Old Testament readings and Biblical odes were performed at the Easter midnight service.[84] The main part of this service consisted of three Biblical odes representing the three days of Christ in the tomb, and of incense representing myrrh-bearers going to Christ's tomb in the early morning.[85] Easter midnight service was the initial place of the oldest troparia that began to be added to the three Biblical odes performed: the ode of Moses (Exodus XV, 1–19), of Azariah (Daniel III, 26–45) and of the Three Holy Children

(Daniel III, 52–88).[86] The function of the refrains was the same as that of the psalmodic refrains: to clarify the meaning of recited texts and to increase the solemnity of the feast. Eventually, refrains began to be added to all essential parts of daily services. Soon, some of the earliest psalms began to be sung with refrains such as the evening psalm 140 *Kyrie ekekraxa*, the morning psalm 50 of repentance *Have mercy on me, o God*, psalm 62 *O, God, You are my God* (chosen especially for the morning service) and psalms 148–150 *Praise the Lord from Heaven.*[87] Troparia gradually began to be performed not only to the Biblical odes but also to the psalms in the central parts of Vespers and Orthros. Over time these troparia-refrains acquired independence from the texts they were added to, and they began to be performed as independent chants. Their significance in worship grew steadily and their number, especially for great Lord's feasts, increased, which – as G. Winkler pointed out – led to both the disintegration of the psalms in worship and their rearrangement. Created troparia could be interchanged with one other.[88] Some of the oldest troparia that were transmitted in the Apostolic Constitutions in the fourth century, and have been preserved until today, are *Glory in the Highest* and *Gladsome Light*.[89]

The number of troparia increased especially after the Christological debates during the fifth and sixth centuries. The debates played a decisive role in the expansion of hymns: the festal system of the Christian church evolved more and more, seeking to increase the solemnity of worship. The following chants date back to that time: the trisagion (the first evidence about it is from 451, which was mentioned at the Fourth Ecumenical Council in Chalcedon, but it was suggested that its distribution occurred at an earlier time);[90] *Begotten Son* (its text was ascribed to both Justinian the First and Severus of Antioch and was introduced in the liturgy of Constantinople in 535/6 by Justinian for performance at the Small Entrance); the *Cheroubikon* (it was introduced by Justinian the Second in 573/4 for performance during the distribution of Gifts at the Great Entrance);[91] as well as the new poetic form, the kontakion – the first large hymnogrophic form comprised of numerous troparia grouped in strophes. It was assumed that the form of the kontakion was inspired by the Syriac model of *madrasha,* which was a strophic form composed of complex syllabic structure.[92] Most kontakia were attributed to Romanos the Melode (second half of the fifth century – ca. 560) – about 1,000 in total.[93] According to archimandrite Sergios, this proves that at the time of Romanos there was a full liturgical Menologion that contained about eighty feast days.[94] Romanos' kontakia were mostly for Sundays but also for Wednesdays and Fridays.[95] Kontakia were created for the same reason as troparia: to explain the meaning of the great feasts. Like troparia, they were originally compiled in connection with the readings that were performed in the cathedral's midnight office. In this office they were performed together with the Biblical odes and troparia.[96] The kontakia of the sixth–seventh centuries are considered an independent form of Biblical commentary that the poets used, both to create a dialogue and

to work out the contents of the Holy Scripture.[97] As it is testified, the change in the liturgical position of the Biblical odes had started by the seventh century: the Biblical odes were moved from the midnight office to the Easter Orthros, and soon after from the yearly Easter vigil to every Sunday morning.[98] In the seventh–eighth centuries the structural outline of the Sunday service demonstrated some significant changes, as G. Winkler shows: the Biblical odes were attached to the psalms and combined with them. Sunday service consisted of joined **Vespers** with monastic psalmody + **midnight service** with three psalms and readings from the Resurrectional Gospel + **morning service** with psalm 50, nine Biblical odes in three groups of three odes (3+3+3) and psalms 148–150.[99] The increased number of troparia and the advantage of independent function of many of them in worship led to their disarrangement. Various designations of refrain appeared in manuscripts: "troparion," "prokeimenon," "hypakoe," "propsalma" (a refrain performed before a given psalm) and "hypopsalma" (a refrain performed after a given psalm).[100]

The seventh and eighth centuries are known as the "golden age" of monastic hymnography in Jerusalem. Chant poetry was incorporated into monastic worship, and it was first found in its most solemn parts – Sundays and festal services.[101] The latter, which until then had known the recitation of the psalms in their sequence in the Psalter (the so-called *psalmodia cursus/currens*), became "chant" services. By the end of the seventh century, the troparia were not limited to only the great Lord's feasts anymore: troparia for the fixed morning psalms 50 and 148–150 had been created. In the process of these changes, the kanon, the second large hymnographic form after the kontakion, was composed, and the various troparia attached to the psalms and especially to the Biblical odes were selected and systematized in a certain stable order.[102] A significant part of the new chant poetry was created exactly in the form of a kanon. The vast amount of the kanons that were written between the eighth and the twelfth centuries shows that the kanon had become one of the most popular and widely used chant forms. A rich repertory of kanons, especially for the newly formed resurrectional services, was created by Theodore Sykeot (+613), Sophronios of Jerusalem (+638), George of Syracuse (+669), Germanos Patriarch, Andrew of Crete (ca. 660–740), John of Damascus, Kosmas of Maiuma, Steven the Sabaite (725?–807) and others. Many of these hymngrophers had worked at the St. Sabas monastery: after the Persion invasion (after 614) St. Sabas monastery became a centre of hymnography for the Christendom. The genre of the kanon was particularly honoured and developed there. In the seventh and eighth centuries, more than eighty kanons and numerous stichera were written.[103]

Of what has been commented on up to here, it is clear that the preserved copies of the *Iadgari* reflect hymnographical development until the end of the eighth century (the indication of the commemoration of St. Abo, a saint who was canonized at the end of the eighth century, in some copies of the

book is good proof of this).[104] This book also reflects the basic tendencies of this development in terms of its structure, chant repertory and genres. Scholars agree that the book transmits the **urban liturgical practice** of Jerusalem, and not the monastic one.[105] Both the large number of stational rubrics in the text regarding the liturgy in urban churches (after the sixth century there was a period when the urban stational liturgies were consolidated in Jerusalem)[106] and the lack in the Menaion part of the book of a commemoration of St. Sabas, the patron of Sabas monastery (which would not be missed if the book had transmitted an established monastic practice), support this argument. Also, there was no commemoration in the book of St. Basil the Great, who was one of the founders of monasticism.

The presence of stichera and kanons reflects a later **time of compilation** of the available copies of the book, although the study of the collected troparia in it shows that their oldest layer goes back to the fifth and sixth centuries.[107] The oldest prokeimena in the book could be dated to the fifth century, as well.[108] There is no agreement among the different scholars regarding the time of the book's compilation: it is placed between the fifth and the eighth centuries.[109] According to P. Jeffery, the *Iadgari* reveals a hymnody compiled before the activity of John of Damascus and Andrew of Crete, that is, before the eighth century; but, the Oktoechos section of the book, specifically, could be dated from the eighth century (the opinion was also that of the Georgian scholars).[110] Here I have to stress again that the availability of a repertory from an earlier time in a liturgical book still does not mean that it was compiled at that time. The study of liturgical books shows that they could contain not only a contemporary repertory of their compilation, but also much earlier one – a practice found throughout the whole history of Orthodox liturgical books. Even those from the nineteenth century contain chants compiled at least five centuries earlier, such as works by St. John Koukouzeles and his contemporary fellows from the fourteenth century.

The question of **the methods of the book's compilation** is another one that is widely discussed in scholarly literature. The Georgian scholars assume that the *Iadgari* had originated as a supplement/appendix to the Georgian Lectionary because the two sources had a lot in common: originally the *Iadgari* represented a chapter of the latter, and it was compiled in the second half of the seventh century. A. Baumstark and H. Leeb dated the *Iadgari* in the eighth century.[111] By the end of the seventh century, according to Georgian scholars, as a result of the increased volume, part of the Lectionary was separated and formed a separate book – the *Iadgari*.[112] This assumption is based on, first, that the *Iadgari* contains much of the material found in the Lectionary; and second, that the calendar, the structure of some services, as well as the distribution of the material as a whole, were organized according to the Lectionary. The memories of the Menaion and Triodion cycles follow an uninterrupted continuous order just as in the Lectionary.[113] G. Bertoniere concludes that many chants are the same in both sources, such as those for Lent, the incipits of the psalms and alleluias for the Liturgy, the

chant sung after the Gospel, etc.[114] It is unlike the Lectionary, however, in the way the troparia were written: in the Lectionary only their incipits were written down, while in the *Iadgari* they were written in full. As a hymnographic book, the *Iadgari* does not contain the readings that were included in the Lectionary.[115] P. Jeffery definitely places the compilation of the book to an earlier time than that of the Georgian Lectionary, supporting this argument with its simpler way of denoting the modal assignments in the *Iadgari*.[116]

The study of the basic problems regarding the book allows for the following summary. The *Iadgari* indeed is a very old non-biblical, poetical collection in Georgian with troparia (as both refrains to the psalms and Biblical odes) and independent chants. The book has preserved a tradition that – according to the available source material – goes back to the fifth century. It represents various layers of chant and liturgical practices. The compilation of preserved manuscripts could be attributed to the **first half of the eighth century**. Evidence of this includes both the included genres (stichera and kanons) that emerge around this time and the authors included the immediate predecessors of John of Damascus, like Patriarch Germanos of Constantinople and Andrew of Crete, as well as his contemporaries, like Kosmas of Jerusalem.[117] Hence, the preserved copies of the book have transmitted a **liturgical practice of the time of Damascus**, the brightest representative of many generations of hymnographers between the seventh and the ninth centuries that are linked with the Sabaitic school. In all probability, Damascus and his contemporaries and immediate predecessors had used and/or worked with such types of books, and the Oktoechos section of this book could have been composed by Damascus or with his active participation. Until now, the book of the Oktoechos has been attributed to the great hymnographer *a priori* only, and mostly because of the known cycles in the eight modes of troparia, stichera and kanons for the resurrectional and the great liturgical feasts being attributed to him in later manuscripts. A particular type of manuscript that could be linked with him has not been identified.[118]

The thesis that the book originated as an addition/appendix to the Georgian Lectionary, because of the existence of some common material and similar structure between them, endures some criticism. If we carefully look at the books of that time, we shall see that in use were the Psalter, containing the psalms and the Biblical odes, and the Lectionary, containing the rules for worship with the incipits of the liturgical items established: the Lectionary was a kind of early liturgical Typikon.[119] In this sense, the emergence of the book of *Iadgari* can hardly be considered in terms of a supplement/annex to the Lectionary – the *Iadgari* and the Lectionary were different types of liturgical books, and the mixing together of such books could hardly happened in the official practice. Moreover, both books transmitted a developed festive system in an established liturgical order according to the calendar used at the time. It is more likely that the *Iadgari* was

a book compiled as a separate one based on material referred to the Lectionary and following its regulations. The appearance of the book could be considered to be the **third important liturgical book** that was introduced in the East: there was the Psalter with the Biblical material,[120] the Lectionary with the regulations on what and how to perform in the Church, and the greatly expanded non-biblical material, which prompted the need for a new book in which this material could be compiled and gathered together. And if it was so, the *Iadgari* might have been compiled after the spread of the Lectionary in the first half of the eighth century at the latest – a conclusion that links the preserved copies of the book with the time of Damascus; that is, during the time of the great hymnographer, a liturgical book of the type of the preserved copies of the *Iadgari* was already in use. This book has kept some archaic features, such as the beginning of the liturgical year at the time of the Annunciation-Christmas, representing the "old" repertory, according to the theory of S. Frøyshov.[121] Hence, during the first half of the eighth century there were three liturgical books that existed and were in use in a written format: the **Psalter** with Biblical material, the ***Iadgari*** with non-Biblical, hymnic material, and the **Lectionary** with regulations for the liturgical use of the former two.

Notes

1 A. Wade: "First ever collection of liturgical hymnography" with poetic material, see Wade, A. The Oldest Jadgari…

2 About this see: Gagoshidze, G. Georgian Churches Dedicated to St. Sabas the Purified. *OLA*, 98: *The Sabaitic Heritage in the Orthodox Church from the Fifth Century to the Present*. Ed. by J. Patrich. Leuven, 2001, 363–384. S. Brock speaks about this, also. According to him, St. Sabas monastery functioned as an important center of translation activity from Greek or Arabic into Georgian, especially in the eighth century. These translations were revealed in the extant Georgian sources of the eighth–tenth centuries. Greek language, as Brock points out, disappeared from Palestine over the course of the eighth and ninth centuries. The latest dated inscription in Greek that was cited is from 785, see Brock, S. Syriac into Greek at Mar Saba: the Translation of St. Isaac the Syrian. In: *The Sabaitic Heritage*..., p. 201.

3 Brock, S. Syriac…

4 Jeffery, P. The Sunday Office…, 52–75.

5 It is cited according to Момина, М. О произхождении…, 112–121.

6 Jeffery, P. The Sunday Office…, p. 53.

7 One of the earliest sources, containing about 50 names of saints (most were from Rome) with dates of their celebration, is *Depositio Martirum* of 354, also known as the *Chronograph*. It starts with December 25, see Pfaff, R. W. Telling Liturgical Times in the Middle Ages. In: *Procession, Performance, Liturgy and Ritual. Essays in Honor of Bryan R. Gillingham*. Ed. by N. van Deusen. Ottawa, 2007, 43–64 (p. 46). About the same source, see also Talley, T. J. Afterthoughts of the Origin of the Liturgical Year. In: *Western Plainchant in the First Millennium. Studies in the Medieval Liturgy and Its Music*. Ed. by S. Gallagher, J. Haar, J. Nadar, and T. Striplin. Ashgate, 2003, 1–10 (p. 3). In his article Talley cites the "Martyrdom of Polycarp" from the second half of the second century as the earliest source with saints' memories, see ibidem, p. 9.

8 Метревели, Е. П. Op. cit., p. 923. P. Tarchnishvili specifies that the name "*Iadgari*" is of Iranian (Persian) origin. He translates it as "memory" – memory of the saints, see Tarchnishvili, P. *Die Geschichte der kirchlichen...*, S. 454. M. Momina interprets the name in the same sense: a memorable record of the saints and their feasts, see Момина, М. О произхождении…

9 Winkler, G. Das theologische Formelgut über den Schöpfer, das ομοούσιος, die Inkarnation und Menschwordung in den georgischen Troparien des *Iadgari* im Spiegel der christlich-orientalischen Quellen. *OC*, 84, 2000, S. 117.

10 Ibidem, S. 1–18. Winkler translates the beginning as "Gedächtnis der Synaxen".

11 Hannick, C. The Theotokos in Byzantine Hymnography: Typology and Allegory. In: *Images of the Mother of God. Perception of the Theotokos in Byzantium*. Ed. by M. Vassilaki. Ashgate, 2004, 69–76; see also Fassler, M. The First Marian Feast in Constantinople and Jerusalem: Chant Texts, Readings, and Homiletic Literature. In: *The Study of Medieval Chant: Paths and Bridges, East and West.*, 25–89.

12 The new emphasis placed upon the Virgin and the Annunciation is connected with both the Christological controversies and the Council of Ephesus of the late fourth and the early fifth centuries, see Fassler, M. Sermons, Sacramentaries, and Early Sources for the Office in the Latin West. In: *The Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages. Methodology and Source Studies, Regional Developments, Hagiography. Written in Honor of Prof. Ruth Steiner.* Ed. by M. Fassler and R. Baltzer. Oxford, 2000, 15–48. M. Fassler points out that the most detailed early witnesses to the first Marian feast in the East are from Jerusalem and Constantinople. In the sixth century the Annunciation was established on March 25 in Constantinople and the Assumption on August 15 in Jerusalem, see Fassler, M. The First Marian Feast…, 25–89. There is evidence that in the East, and particularly in Constantinople, the feast of the Annunciation was celebrated on December 26, the second day of Christmas. In today's calendar the same date, December 26, is linked with the Virgin, as well – the Council of Virgin Mary is celebrated, see Mary, M. and C. Ware. *The Lenten Triodion.* London and Boston, 1978, p. 54. The same date is pointed out by M. Fassler as an established Marian feast in the eighth century, see Fassler, M. The First…, p. 44. According to some evidence, the feast of the Assumption on August 15 was institutionalized by Emperor Maurice by the end of the sixth century: most of the Marian feasts were established at that time, see Brubaker, L. and M. Cunningham. Byzantine Veneration of the Theotokos: Icons, Relics, and Eight-Century Homilies. In: *From Rome to Constantinople. Studies in Honor of Averil Cameron*. Leuven, Paris, and Dudley, MA, 2007, 235–251 (p. 237).

13 See Jeffery, P. The Sunday Office…, p. 57. The liturgical practice in the *Iadgari* could be considered to have been mixed: there are liturgical items that were used until and after the calendar established by Justinian. Such a mixed practice going back to the sixth–seventh centuries could also be suggested by the two dates for the celebration of the memory of the two apostles Peter and Paul that are given in the *Iadgari* – the earlier date on December 28 that was used in the East until the sixth century and the later one on June 29, see Чифлянов, Б. *Литургика*. София, 1997, с. 112.

14 Talley, T. J. *The Origins...*, 2nd ed., p. 85. According to D. Petrović, the two feasts were separated during the last decades of the fourth century – in 380 or 386, see Petrović, D. The Selection of Tones in the Services for the Twelve Great Feasts. In: *Palaeobyzantine Notations*. Vol. III. Ed. by G. Wolfram. Leuven, Paris, and Dudley, MA, 2004, 211–226 (p. 214).

15 According to Baldovin, J. F. *Liturgy in Ancient Jerusalem…*, p. 35. G. Winkler specifies that Christmas began to be celebrated in the Christian Orient during the second half of the fourth century. According to her, the term *ἡεπιφανεία*

had not only been used for January 6 in the fourth century, but also for the newly established feast Christmas on December 25. She stresses that John Chrysostom has spoken about "two epiphania:" "Epiphany for Christmas" and "Epiphany for January 6", see Winkler, G. Die Licht-Erscheinung bei der Taufe…, S. 221. See also Fassler, M. Sermons, Sacramentaries…, p. 17. M. Fassler stresses that, especially in Jerusalem, Christmas developed late – by the sixth century: until then, the emphasis was not on his Nativity but on the feast of Epiphany when the mysteries of Christ's appearance on the earth were celebrated. As the studies show, the date on which Christmas should be celebrated was a subject of dispute between chalcedons and monophysites in terms of both natures of Jesus – as a Human being and as a Deity. Chalcedons celebrated the Nativity of Jesus on December 25 and the Nativity of the Deity on January 6. It was for this reason that the Emperor Justinian the First (ca. 482–565) stated in a letter to the Church in Jerusalem in 560 that the Nativity of Christ was to be celebrated there on December 25 (until then the memories of both King David, the founder of the city, and Jakob, the first bishop of Jerusalem, had been celebrated). However, this happened a little bit later – about 570, when the Annunciation began to be celebrated on December 25, see also Levy-Rubin, M. The Role of the Judaean Desert Monasteries in the Monothelite Controversy in Seventh-Century Palestine. In: *The Sabaite Heritage…*, p. 291. In Constantinople, the Christmas celebration that is separated from the Epiphany refers to a slightly earlier time than in Jerusalem – by the beginning of the fifth century. According to Talley, Christmas' celebration on December 25 became ubiquitous following the orders of Emperor Justin II (565–578), see Talley, T. J. *The Origins…*, 1st ed., 1986, p. 139.

16 Метревели, Е. Op. cit., pp. 923–927; Wade, A. Op. cit.; Jeffery, P. The Sunday Office…, pp. 54–55; idem. The Earliest Oktoechoi…, pp. 197–207; idem. The Earliest Christian Chant…, pp. 14–19; idem. The Lost Chant Tradition…, p. 158. The content of the *Iadgari* was also considered in the cited publications of Ch. Renoux and G. Winkler. Here, information is provided about the book according to all the publications accessible to the author.

17 R. Allison calls the same order "integrated." He has found it in some hagiographical manuscripts kept at the library of the Philotheos monastery on Mount Athos from a slightly later time, in the fourteenth century, see Allison, R. W. The World Wide Web Archive of Watermarks and Papers in Greek Manuscripts. In: *Byzantium. Identity, Image, Influence.* XIX International Congress of Byzantine Studies: Major Papers, ed. by K. Fledelius. Copenhagen, 1996, 465–476 (p. 466).

18 According to Wade, A. Op. cit.

19 Ibidem.

20 The succession of the offices was also published by H.-M. Schneider, see Schneider, H.-M. Lobpreis im rechten Glauben…, S. 20. K. Kekelidze gives the same description of the content as that of the above mentioned manuscript Tbilisi H-2123. He specifies that the source contains both a "Menaion section in its primary formation" and a Triodion section that was "older than the time of Theodore the Studite" (see its description in Chapter 5 here, where the manuscript Sinai 759 is discussed). The Triodion section, according to the detailed description of Kekelidze, was included between February 2 and April 23 in a common structure based on the calendar of the immovable feasts established before the ninth century, see Кекелидзе, К. *Литургические грузинские памятники в отечественных книгохранилищах и их научное значение.* Тифилис, 1908, с. 350.

21 The link between the Annunciation and Christmas was found in many Armenian hymnographic books.

22 Even today there are many common feasts in the two calendars – the Eastern (known according to the early manuscript 40 from the library of the Holy Cross in Jerusalem) and the Western Roman Catholic one. Both of them reflect a

common early Christian calendar, changing over the course of time, respectively in the East and in the West. The common feasts in both calendars are: The Nativity of the Virgin on September 8, St. Luke on October 18, Blessed Virgin in the Temple on October 21, St. Andrew on November 30, Christmas on December 25, The Presentation of the Lord on February 2, The Annunciation on March 25, The Nativity of St. John on June 24, Sts. Peter and Paul on June 29, The 12 Holy Apostles on June 30, The Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary on August 15, The Martyrdom of St. John the Baptist on June 29, Palm Sunday, Easter, Bright Week from Friday through Saturday and Pentekost, see about these feasts in Baldovin, J. F. The Urban Character…, p. 300 and next.

23 According to Baldovin, J. F. *Liturgy in…*, p. 36.

24 Скабалланович, М. *Толковый Типикон*. Вып. 1…, с. 307. The Menaion starts with December: St. Steven (26), Sts. John and Jacob (27), Sts. Peter and Paul (28), Epiphany (January 6), etc.

25 Чифлянов, Б. *Литургика…*, с. 112.

26 Wade, A. Op. cit.

27 The great martyr Theodor Tyron was proclaimed a saint in the third century under the Emperor Maximian (286–305). The first Sunday of Lent is missing in the description of A. Wade. It is not clear whether it was missing at all in the *Iadgari*.

28 G. Bertoniere cites them according to manuscripts from the twelfth century, see Bertoniere, G. The Sundays of Lent…, p. 24.

29 The Transfiguration became one of the most important feasts of Lord soon after this date. It was assumed that its celebration was introduced first in Armenia by St. Gregory the Confessor. Despite its early introduction in the festal system, the Transfiguration is missing in the oldest Latin liturgical sources, both old Roman and Gregorian, see Nardini, L. Alience in Disguise: Byzantine and Gallican Chants in the Latin Liturgy. *PMM*, 16, 2007, 145–172 (p. 159).

30 Wade, A. Op. cit.

31 Ibidem.

32 Wade gives this feast on July 29.

33 See Strunk, O. The Notation of the Chartres Fragment. In: *Essays...*, p. 108. Strunk concludes that on this day, in the Menaion part of the standard abridged version of the Sticherarion (the oldest copies of it date from about the mid-eleventh century), all the chants whose subject was related to the Consecration of the Church were provided.

34 This feast was included in the Slavic liturgical calendars after the establishment of the new Sabaitic redaction of the Jerusalem Typikon in the fourteenth century, see Йовчева, М. Службите за празника на св. Георги на 26 ноември в южнославянските минеи. В: *Пение мало Георгию. Сборник в чест на 65 годишнината на проф. д.ф.н. Георги Попов*. София, 2010, 101–116 (с. 102).

35 In fact, Christmas long remained the beginning of the new church year in the western church, particularly in the Roman Catholic Church.

36 For the second section of the book, Jeffery gives “supplementary troparia” that were arranged in a calendaric order, as in the first section. He compares their function with that of the Byzantine kathismata and hypokoai, see Jeffery, P. The Sunday Office…, p. 55.

37 See Baldovin, J. F. The Urban Character…, p. 83 and next. Baldovin uses the term “stational” to refer to the processional worship from one church to another.

38 Wellesz, E. *A History of Byzantine Music and Hymnography*. Oxford, 1961, pp. 239–240.

39 Скабалланович, М. *Толковый Типикон…*, вып. 2. Киев, 1913, с. 237–238. The author states that Athanasius the Great had spoken about psalms with hypakoe and alleluia, as in psalm 117 – *Every Day*. He also states that Augustine called this intoning an “answer” – *respondere*.

40 Frøyshov, S. S. R. The Early Development…, pp. 161–162.
41 Jeffery determines this chapter to be the third one containing troparia designed for the ordinary Sundays where the theme of the Resurrection is the basic one, see Jeffery, P. The Sunday…, p. 55.
42 Strunk, O. *Essays on*…, p. 67. Strunk notices that the stichera were originally called troparia and their history started much earlier than it was previously assumed.
43 Скабалланович, М. *Толковый Типикон*..., вып. 1, с. 302. See also Wellesz, E. *A History*..., pp. 171–179; Husmann, H. Himnus und Troparion. *Jahrbuch des Staatlichen Instituts der Internationalen Musikforschung Preussischer Kulturbesitz*. Berlin, 1971, 46–57. Husmann determines troparia as chants of which the odes of the kanons were composed; the stichera, according to him, were chants performed between the verses of the psalms, see Husmann, H. Ein Syro-Melkitisches Tropologion mit altbyzantinischen Notation Sinai Syr. 261. *Göttinger Orientforschungen*, 9. Wiesbaden, 1975, S. X.
44 Метревели, Е. Op. cit., p. 928.
45 See Крашенинникова, О. *Древнеславянский Октоих*..., с. 295–297. P. Jeffery notices that most of the troparia and some prokeimena in this section have modal designations, see Jeffery, P. The Sunday Office…, p. 60–65. According to S. Frøyshov, who studied manuscript Sinai Georgian 18, such a resurrectional Oktoechos was found in the "old" *Iadgari* as well, see Frøyshov, S. S. R. The Early Development…, p. 164.
46 See Senn, F. *Christian Liturgy*..., p. 196. The manuscript Sinai Georgian 34 reads that these chants were designed for Lent and "for other days as desired," see Крашенинникова, О. *Древнеславянский Октоих*..., с. 299.
47 Jeffery cites a section of supplementary or additional troparia that followed an uninterrupted order according to the calendar, see Jeffery, P. The Sunday Office…, p. 55.
48 The repertory is discussed by different scholars and there is no unity in terms of its presentation. Here it has been generalized according to the studies of Wade, A. Op. cit.; Renoux, C. Jerusalem…; Winkler. G. *Studies in Early Christian Liturgy*..., 1997, 93–113, 471–551; Jeffery, P. The Earliest Oktoechoi… According to Jeffery, there are texts in the *Iadgari* for each day of the Vespers, Orthros and Eucharist.
49 Winkler. Das theologische Formelgut…, S. 120.
50 Cardinal Pitra has described both the texts and the rubrics of the so-called manuscript *Corsinium*. According to this description, the original performance of hypakoe was followed by a stichologion of psalm verses (a recitation based on verses); the final phrase of the hymn called *akroteleution* was repeated between the verses. The stichologion ended with *Glory Father*, after which the entire troparion was sung once again as an addition called *perisse*. According to Lingas, A. *Sunday Matins in the Byzantine Cathedral Rite: Music and Liturgy*. Ph.D. The University of British Columbia, 1996, p. 73.
51 G. Bertoniere discusses it as a refrain only, respectively as a troparion. He calls it "dasdebeli," see Bertoniere, G. The Sundays of Lent…, p. 53. The term "dasdebeli" is also discussed by Leeb, see Leeb, H. Op. cit., S. 50–63, 274.
52 H. Leeb refers with this term to a chant with prayer characteristics staying in the beginning of worship. He also notices that the chant could be a refrain to a psalm, see Leeb, H. Op. cit., S. 39–41, 275.
53 The Eucharist in Jerusalem was served according to the Liturgy of St. Jacob, the first bishop of the Holy City. This Liturgy belonged to the Syro-Antiochean liturgical circle, see Schneider, H.-M. *Lobpreise im recheten Glauben*..., S. 42.
54 The midnight office is discussed especially by Winkler, see Winkler, G. Das theologische Formelgut… According to Winkler, the compilation of this office

took place by the end of the fourth century in Jerusalem: the office started at the first crowing on Sunday and took place at the tomb of Jesus to commemorate His Resurrection.

55 G. Winkler lists the following Biblical odes: Exodus 15:1–19 ; Deuteronomy 32:1–43; 1 Samuel 2:1–10; Habbakuk 3:2–19; Isaia 26:9–19; Iona 2:3–10; Daniel 3:26–45; Daniel 3:52–88; and Magnificat according to Luke 1:46–79 (the ninth ode was from the New Testament and was introduced by the beginning of the eighth century), see Winkler, G. Das theologische Formelgut…, S. 122.

56 Ibidem. According to S. Frøyshov the designation "other" indicates various hymn layers "within the same liturgical piece" originating "from different places and times," which means, as G. Winkler also has said, that "parts of the Ancient *Iadgari* had Syrian or Antiochean origin," see Frøyshov, S. S. Greek hymnody…, p. 24.

57 Ibidem, pp. 122–123. Winkler discusses the contents of the *Iadgari*, and especially those of Christmas and the Epiphany, in detail. She stresses that there were differences in the composition and structure of the two offices. The author also gives all the numbers of the psalms linked with the performance of the prokeimena, their verses and the alleluias that were sung in the course of these offices.

58 Wade, A. Op. cit.; Jeffery, P. The Sunday Office…, p. 55. Winkler speaks about evening Eucharist, see Winkler, G. Das theologische…, S. 122–123.

59 The last three genres could be included in what E. Metreveli calls "monostrophic works" – a general designation used by the authors of the Georgian *Iadgari* for all kinds of troparia, see Метревели, E. Op. cit., p. 923.

60 See Jeffery. P. The Sunday Office…, p. 55.

61 Jeffery, P. The Earliest Oktoechoi…, pp. 204–206. Jeffery cites the incipits of some stichera anastasima for Saturday Vespers and Sunday Orthros, stichera aposticha and the three stichera anatolika for Saturday Vespers. All of them can be found in the modern Oktoechos. In terms of the designation "anatolika," Jeffery agrees with scholars who have linked the meaning of the designation with an origin from East: *anatoly* means East. Also according to him, the chants in each mode in Georgian manuscripts were given in a liturgical order but in the Byzantine Oktoechoi they were arranged in a genre order. O. Krasheninnikova publishes the incipits of the resurrectional chants in mode 1 in Slavonic translation. Among them are the first resurrectional sticheron anastasimon for Saturday Vespers and two stichera anatolika (first and second) for the same office, see Крашенинникова, О. *Древнеславянский Октоих...*, с. 295–298.

62 See the cited publications of P. Jeffery and O. Krasheninnikova and also *Triodion und Pentekostarion...*, S. 50.

63 Метревели, E. Op. cit., p. 923. The hypakoe and the kathismata are considered the equivalent of the great responsoria of the western morning office (the so-called "Matins"), see Jeffery, P. Monastic Reading and the Emerging Roman Chant Repertory. In: *Western Plainchant in the First...*, p. 52.

64 The chants are called *oxitay*, see Jeffery, P. The Sunday Office…, p. 62.

65 See Пентковский, А. and М. Йовчева. Праздничные и воскресные блаженны в византийском и славянском богослужении VIII–XIII вв. *Палеобулгарика*, 3, 2001, 31–60. The authors state that the group of the verses for the Gospel beatitudes belongs to the oldest and the most stable elements of monastic worship. In Palestinian monastic tradition, the chanting of the resurrectional and festal beatitudes was linked with the chanting of these verses, ibidem, p. 35. About the beatitudes see also Йовчева, М. Солунският октоих в контекста на южнославянските октоиси до XIV в. В: *КМС*, 16. С., 2004, с. 11.

66 Bertoniere, G. The Sundays…, p. 39, 53. The study of this material has shown that it corresponds to different activities of the time between the seventh and

the first half of the tenth centuries. Mother Mary and archimandrit Calistos Ware consider the Great kanon by Andrew of Crete as the oldest one. They also ascribe a cycle of stichera idiomela for Lent (two stichera for each day sung at the morning and evening offices) to Andrew, see Mary, M. and K. Ware. *The Lenten Triodion*…, p. 41.

67 The two Palestinian abbots would be later known as John Moschos (+619 or 634) and Patriarch Sophronios of Jerusalem. It becomes clear of their conversation with the abbot Nilus of Sinai that Nilus had conducted the liturgical "kanon of psalmody" at the Vespers and Orthros with psalms and Biblical odes but without troparia in between. The two Palestinian abbots inquired after the following items they perceived as missing from the "kanon:" (1) the matutinal responsory *The Lord is God*; (2) the sessional hymns of the Resurrection chanted between the staseis of the Psalter (kathismata); (3) the troparia to accompany the two Biblical odes of the Three Children; (4) the Gospel responsory *Let everything that had breath*; and (5) the resurrectional troparion sung after the Great Doxology, compare Lingas, A. *Sunday Matins*..., p. 135. The same conversation is discussed in: Скабаланович, М. *Толковый Типикон*, вып. 1…, с. 328; Taft, R. Mount Athos: A Late Chapter in the History of the Byzantine Rite. *DOP*, 42, 1988, 179–194 (p. 188); idem. *Divine Liturgies – Human Problems*..., pp. 677–678.

68 Скабалланович, М. *Толковый Типикон*… Вып. 2, с. 177.

69 25 full kanons for great Lord's and Virgin's feasts like Christmas, Epiphany, Hypapante, Annunciation, etc. were found in the *Iadgari*. All of them had a second ode.

70 Метревели, Е. Op. cit., p. 926. The last probably referred to the Triodion-Pentekostarion section.

71 According to Skabalanovich, Andrew of Crete was the first author of full kanons. Sophronios of Jerusalem before him had written diodia and triodia kanons. Andrew composed triodia for the days of the Holy Week and full kanons for the most solemn feasts, see Скабалланович, М. *Толковый Типикон*... Вып. 1, с. 368.

72 About this see Метревели, е. Op. cit., pp. 928–929; also Schneider, H.-M. *Lobpreise im rechten*..., S. 10.

73 See Jeffery, P. The Sunday…, p. 63. O. Krasheninnikova cites the performance of troparia at the Vespers for the Holy Cross in *Iadgari*, see Крашенинникова, О. *Древнеславянский Октоих*..., с. 295.

74 Leeb, H. Die Gesänge im…, S. 63.

75 See Метревели, Е. Op. cit., pp. 923–925.

76 The prokeimena were performed in a responsorial way: the verses were chanted by a soloist in alternation with the choir or the congregation/people, see Jeffery, P. The Sunday Office…, p. 54. The prokeimena belong to the so-called responsorial psalmody, where the refrain is always on the text of a given psalm.

77 Originally these refrains were quite short. One or two soloists sung/recited the psalm text; the congregation answered the soloist/s with refrain. If the congregation had not been divided into two parts (two choirs), the chanting was responsorial; if it was, the chanting was antiphonal: the two parts answered the soloist in alteration. The antiophonal refrain was called "troparion" in Constantinople and "hypakoe" and "verse" in Palestine. The antiphonal refrain ended with small Doxology *Glory to Father*; see Winkler, G. The Armenian Night Office II…, 471–551.

78 Ibidem. In many publications cited here, G. Winkler considers in detail the emergence of the refrains – both psalmodic and hymnodic – and their role in the formation of separate services.

79 Winkler, G. Das theologische…, S. 117.

80 Leeb, H. Op. cit., S. 275–277.
81 Ibidem, S. 278.
82 Hannick, C. The Theotokos in Byzantine Hymnography… Hannick stresses that the two principal methods in hymnography were the typology and the allegory.
83 Talley refers the celebration of the Easter vigil to the mid-second century, linking it with Jerusalem, see Talley, T. J. *The Origins of*..., 2d ed., p. 32. Obviously the Easter vigil was among the earliest compiled midnight offices; G. Winkler relates its formation as early as the end of the fourth century.
84 Winkler, G. The Armenian Night Office II…, p. 518. Winkler determines the Easter vigil as "Sitz im Leben" for both the Biblical odes and the oldest troparia, see ibidem, p. 486.
85 Ibidem, p. 487.
86 Ibidem, p. 488. The incipits of these chants are: *Sing to the Lord because He triumphed gloriously* (1) and *Blessed You, o, Lord* (2, 3), according to: Библия. София, 1991, с. 75, 1019–1020.
87 About the two morning psalms 50 and 62 see Taft, R. *The Liturgy of the Hours*..., p. 204. According to Taft the other two morning psalms, 148–150, had a stable place in the Orthros in all services in the sixth century, ibidem. Psalm 62 was one of the especially mentioned early psalms with its stable place in the morning office. It was mentioned in the Apostolic Constitutions, written in about 380. We read there: "… but you must assemble each day, morning and evening, singing psalms and praying in the houses of the Lord, saying the 62 psalm in the morning, and in the evening psalm 140, especially on the day of Sabbath," cit. according to McKinnon, J., ed. *Music in Early Christian*..., p. 110. About psalm 62 see also Mateos, J. The Morning and Evening Office. *Worship*, 42, 10, 1968, 31–47.
88 Winkler, G. Das theologische…, S. 172.
89 According to the studies of G. Winkler, the doxology was the oldest invitatory part in the shape of the Armenian, Syriac and Byzantine night office. It was subsequently enriched with additional doxologies, such as little doxology, trinitarian doxology, trisagion, see Winkler, G. The Armenian Night Office I…, p. 93. In the very beginning there was only a doxology: *Blessed God, Jesus Christ, Amen* (1), after which the monks began with the recitation of the psalms in numerical order. During the next stage (2), when the psalm 3 was introduced in the beginning of the night psalmody, the doxology was expanded. Before the end of the seventh century it was once again expanded (3) with the addition of: psalm 50:17, a trinitarian doxology, the triad of psalms 87, 102 and 142, intercession and collect at the end, see ibidem, p. 108. *Gladsome Light* was one of the earliest documented evening hymns. With the introduction of the modal designations in the liturgical books, it is always given in mode 4. Its place in the evening office is stable – it is performed during the Entrance. The hymn was included in the notated books very late – only in the seventeenth century.
90 Schulz, H. J. *The Byzantine Liturgy*. New York, 1986, p. 22. The early origin of trisagion was linked with the earthquake of 438: it was performed every year in Constantinople at the procession on September 25, see Croke, B. The Early Byzantine Earthquakes and Their Liturgical Commemoration. *Byzantion*, LI, 1981, Fasc. 1, 122–147 (p. 145).
91 On the ground of the analysis of the text toposes, G. Winkler suggested that the Sunday Cheroubikon (she call it "troparion") did not have a Byzantine origin but was Antiochean-Syriac, see Winkler, G. Das Sanctus… Teil II: Das georgische Troparion bei den Gabenprozesion nach dem georgischen Lektionar und Jadgari (Troparien-Samlung). *OCA*, 267, 2002, S. 245.

92 According to Brock, S. P. From Ephrem to Romanus. *SP*, XX, 1989, 139–151 (p. 141).
93 G. Winkler points out that Romanos has never called his works "kontakia" but only ὕμνος, ψαλμὸς, ποιήμα, αἶνος and ᾠδη, see Winkler, G. Das theologische Formelgut…, S. 155. The increased number of the holidays in the church calendar, and respectively of the chant repertory, could be linked, among other reasons, with the desire of the new Christian Church to put aside and replace the pagan holidays: pagan Christmas was shifted by the Nativity of Christ, the feast of Dionysus – by the Nativity of John the Baptist and, respectively, Epiphany, etc.
94 Арх. Сергий. *Полный месяцеслов Востока.* Том 1: Восточная агиология. Владимир, 1901, с. 24.
95 About this see *Triodion und Pentekostarion*..., S. 33.
96 Winkler, G. Das theologische Formelgut…, S. 155.
97 Hannick, C. The Theotokos in Byzantine Hymnography…
98 Winkler, G. Das theologische…, S. 488.
99 Winkler, G. The Armenian Night Office II…, pp. 498–508.
100 According to Winkler, "hypopsalma" was a refrain to the responsorial psalmody. It was a psalm verse chanted either in its entirety or limited to its last part. In Constantinople the responsorial refrain was called "prokeimenon:" it included only the last part of the psalm verse. In Palestine this responsory was called "hypopsalma:" it included the entire verse, see Winkler, G. The Armenian Night Office II…, p. 507. The troparia eventually became a model for other chants. There were created troparia idiomela and prosomoia.
101 See Lingas, A. *Sunday Matins*..., pp. 137–138. Another category of hymns existed that could not be associated with the regular psalmody and hymnody – it was independent from them, as in *The Hymn of the Pearl* and *The Odes of Solomon*, see Winkler, G. The Armenian Night Office II…, p. 540.
102 By the 19th Canon of the Council in Trullo at the end of the seventh century (692), the daily preaching, especially on Sundays, was made obligatory for all the higher clergy. This, according to E. Wellesz, was exactly the date of the replacement of the kontakion by the kanon. The kontakion sung after the reading of the Gospel in the morning Office had to make way for the sermon of the preacher. But as there was a need for more hymns, kanons started to be performed: until then they were sung only during Lent and between Easter and Pentekost. Now they were introduced throughout the entire ecclesiastical year. The introduction of the sermon into the worship seems to have been the decisive factor in eliminating the kontakion and in introducing the kanon, see Wellesz, E. *A History of*…, p. 204.
103 R. Taft outlines three stages in the development of the kanon along with the working out of the Biblical odes. The *first* stage is hypothetical; the following Biblical odes were used in different weekly days: Sunday – 1, 8 and 9; Monday – 2 and 9; Tuesday – 3 and 9; Wednesday – 4 and 9; Thursday – 5 and 9; Friday – 6 and 9; and Saturday – 7 and 9. The *second* stage was based on the Georgian *Iadgari* from the ninth century, according to the manuscript Tbilisi H-2123; in weekly days the following Biblical odes were used: Sunday – 1 and 9; Monday – 1, 8 and 9; Tuesday – 2, 8 and 9; Wednesday – 3, 8 and 9; Thursday – 1, 8 and 9; Friday – 5, 8 and 9; and Saturday – 6, 8 and 9. The *third* last stage is as it is today: for all weekly days all the nine (eight) odes are in use, see Taft, R. Mount Athos: A Late Chapter…, p. 189.
104 See Schneider, H.-M. Lobpreis im rechten Glauben…, S. 265.
105 Метревели, Е. Op. cit., p. 928; Wade, A. Op. cit.; Jeffery, P. The Sunday Office…, p. 54; Winkler, G. Das theologische…, S. 119.
106 Baldovin, J. F., The Urban Character of Christian…, p. 256.

107 Winkler, G. Das theologische…, S. 128.
108 Jeffery, P. The Sunday Office…, p. 56. Jeffery states that many of the prokeimena could be found in the Armenian Lectionary, written in the first half of the fifth century.
109 Метревели, E. Op. cit., p. 92; Wade, A. Op. cit. G. Winkler believes that the *Iadgari* refers to an earlier time than that of Nicea-Constantinopolitan Council (the author did not specify the time but in all probability she had in mind the period before 787, when the Council of Nicea was held), see Winkler, G. Das theologische…, S. 133. According to M. Momina, the *Iadgari* reflects a stage of development of the sixth–seventh century, see Момина, М. О произхождении… According to P. Jeffery, most of the texts in the book were already fixed by the seventh century. By that time, the prokeimena and the alleluias were supplemented by other chants, such as communions, cheroubika, introductory chants in the Vespers and Orthros. In the book there were not only texts for the liturgies and offices in a liturgical order, but also the modal designations of the chants included. Jeffery stresses more than once that the *Iadgari* was the first witness to the existence of the Oktoechos, see Jeffery, P. The Earliest Oktoechoi…, p. 200; idem. Jerusalem and Rome (and Constantinople)…, p. 166. Having looked for the time of the origin of the book, Jeffery determines it to have been between the Armenian and the Georgian Lectionaries, that is, between the fifth and the eighth centuries, see Jeffery, P. The Sunday Office…, p. 60. In Georgia, the time between the 970s and 980s was characterized as a time of great development of liturgical literature, see Tarchnišvili, P. M. Die Geschichte der…, S. 27.
110 Jeffery, P. Jerusalem and Rome…, p. 168; idem. The Sunday Office…, p. 58; idem. The Earliest Oktoechoi…, pp. 200–201.
111 Метревели, E. Op. cit., p. 923; Leeb, H. Die Gesänge im Gemeindegottesdienst…, S. 30.
112 Метревели, E. Op. cit., pp. 923, 928–929. All the cited authors here who have discussed problems related to the *Iadgari* agree with this opinion, see the cited publications of A. Wade, G. Winkler, M. Momina, G. Bertoniere, and P. Jeffery. In the cited publication of M. Momina, it is concluded that the manuscript Tbilisi H-2123 from the second half of the ninth century, written probably at the St. Sabas monastery, is very close to the Georgian Lectionary.
113 Jeffery, P. The Sunday Office…, p. 57; Момина, М. О произхождении…
114 Bertoniere, G. The Sundays…, p. 39.
115 According to Jeffery, many of the prokeimena in the *Iadgari* could be found in the earlier Armenian Lectionary; the latter, however, contained very few of them, see Jeffery, P. The Sunday Office…, p. 56.
116 Ibidem, p. 59. Having studied the preserved seven copies of the Georgian *Iadgari*, the author distinguished four stages in the development of the Oktoechos part in them according to the following criteria. Stage I – manuscript Tbilisi H-2123: small collection of chant incipits arranged by mode (the text is preserved up to mode 3), appendix to the *Iadgari*; stage II – manuscript Sinai Georgian 18: chants were written in full still as appendix to the *Iadgari*; stage III – manuscripts Sinai Georgian 40, 41 и 34: separate repertory included in the beginning of each manuscript; and stage IV – manuscripts Sinai Georgian 26 и 20: a later recension without heirmoi in the kanons, see Jeffery, P. The Earliest Oktoechoi…, p. 201. As could be seen, the determined older and newer Sinai Georgian manuscripts by Jeffery are different from those determined by S. Frøyshov (see Chapter 1).
117 See Метревели, E. Op. cit., p. 927. This is one of the rare publications where John Monachos and John of Damascus were considered to be two different persons. In other publications, John Monachos was identified as John of Damascus, see Appendix Сергий. *Полный месяцослов…*, p. 25.

118 P. Jeffery concluded, for instance, that "the first modally organized collections of chant texts emerged during the eighth and ninth centuries, that this type of organization was especially associated with the kanon genre and the works of the Palestinian hymnographers around John Damascene." Jeffery did not associate a particular book with Damascus, see Jeffery, P. The Earliest Oktoechoi…, p. 207. A. Cody associated the emergence of the eight mode successions with this one of the kanon, see Cody, A. Op. cit. According to R. Taft and N. Patterson-Ševćenko, the oldest works in the eight mode successions that were preserved in manuscripts from the eighth and ninth centuries originally were dispersed in collections of kanons, stichera and kathismata, see Taft, R., N. P. Ševćenko. Oktoechos. In: *ODB*. Ed. by A. Kazhdan. Vol. 3. New York and Oxford, 1991, p. 1520.

119 See Leeb, H. Op. cit. Baldovin determined it as "an embryonic form of the later Typikon," see Baldovin, J. F. The Urban Character of…, p. 64. E. Velkovska believes that the story of the Typikon started from the tenth century onwards; before that time there were no Typika, see Велковска, Е. Типик. *КМЕ*, т. IV, София, 2003, с. 57–59. Another opinion is argued by E. Koceva in: Коцева, Е. Типик. *СЛЕР*. София, 1992, с. 464–465.

120 The earliest copy of a liturgical Psalter was found in the *Codex Alexandrinus* of the fifth century, one of the oldest manuscripts of the complete Bible in Greek. It must have been copied from an earlier Psalter designed for liturgical use. In the beginning of *Codex Alexandrinus*, as its preface, the first large treatise on the uses of the psalms in Christian worship was found, written by Athanasios of Alexandria (ca. 296–373) – "Epistle to Marcellinus on the Interpretation of the Psalms." The Epistle included a long list identifying specific psalms for use in particular occasions. At the end of the Codex, an appendix was included that, according to Jeffery, listed 14 Biblical odes, an early text of *Gloria in excelsis Deo*, a list of psalms to recite of each of the 24 hours of the day according to an Egyptian monastic form of the Divine Office, and a list of 150 titles providing Christian interpretations for each psalm ascribed to Eusebius from the fourth century, see Jeffery, P. Monastic Reading…, p. 49. Jeffery also points out that the very center for the Western diffusion of Eastern psalmody was Milan, ibidem, p. 50.

121 See Chapter 1.

4 The Syriac Tropligin

The Syriac manuscripts that are the focus of this chapter are housed at the library of the British Museum in London. The greater part of them are not very well known. All of them have been described by W. Wright in his Catalogue.[1] The hymnographic books in this Catalogue are designated as “choir books,” “hymnals,” “lectionaria,” etc. Others are given without any designation. For this study, manuscripts containing information about liturgical and hymnographic material related to the studied topic are selected and discussed. The manuscripts are systematized in a chronological order, according to their date given by Wright. Some are more presented with more details below. From an early time Palestino-Syrian church (until the establishment of the influence of Constantinople over the Orthodox municipalities between the ninth and the eleventh centuries) followed the Jerusalem worship closely[2] and, in this respect, the Syrian manuscripts could be compared with the Georgian ones discussed in the previous chapter.

I. Early sixth century

1. **Add. 14,528** – Lectionary.[3] The manuscript contains an index to the **lessons** for various festivals of the whole ecclesiastical year and other occasions: (1)[4] **the Epiphany**, **Lent**, **Holy Week**, **the Sunday of the Resurrection/Easter**, **the Week of Rest**, **the Sunday after the Week of Rest**, **the Ascension of Our Lord** and **Pentekost or Whitsun Day**; (2) when a man receives the tonsure and becomes a religious (when one becomes a monk), the commemoration of the holy Martyrs, the commemoration of the Bishops, when a man becomes a priest, the Dedication of a Church, the Dedication of an Altar and the Apparition of the Holy Cross to the Emperor Constantine. An inscription at the end reads that everybody should know the lessons for the festivals of commemoration of martyrs/saints, bishops, apostles and the deceased.

Comment. The manuscript contains lessons for both the **great Lord’s feasts from Epiphany to Pentekost and the common services**. There isn’t any commemoration of the Theotokos. There are memories for almost each day of Holy Week, which are considered specific to the liturgical calendar of this manuscript: Monday – St. John the Baptist; Tuesday – the Holy Apostles

Peter and Paul; Wednesday – apostles in common; Thursday – bishops in common; Friday – there is no special commemoration; and Saturday – St. Steven.[5] The designation of "the Week of Rest" was connected with the Emperor Constantine who prohibited the work during the week after Easter (the Bright Week).[6] The arrangement of the material in this manuscript differs from that in the Georgian *Iadgari*, where it was given in an uninterrupted order. The arrangement here, as we shall see, is revealed in most of the studied Syriac manuscripts. We shall call this arrangement **thematic liturgical cyclic order** (see Chapter 2: Egeria): the repertory is **systematized in liturgical cycles according to their thematics** regarding both Lord's and common feasts. The Lord's feasts follow a chronological order according to the calendar from the Epiphany to Pentekost. F. Burkitt determines such an arrangement as an "old" festive cycle transmitting the order of the "old Christian year."[7]

The Epiphany here obviously coincides with Christmas. Such was the early practice in Jerusalem as well. Highlighting the Epiphany only testifies that the emphasis was on that feast. After the Sunday of Pentekost there is no other Sunday until the end of the liturgical year. A. Cody suggests that during the Sundays after Pentekost, *lectio continua* must have been used; that is, what had been prescribed for previous Sundays. It was repeated in an uninterrupted order every Sunday until the end of the year.[8] Included among the festivals designed for the common services are those for the martyrs (*martyrika*) and for the Holy Cross (*stavrosima*), where chants designed for these commemorations could have been performed. From the sixth century onwards, the trend was to reduce the lessons at the expense of the hymn material.[9]

II. Seventh century

1. (2) **Add. 17,134** – 85 folia, 675.[10] This is the famous manuscript called "Oktoechos of Severus" by A. Baumstark.[11] It contains hymns (Wright always uses the Greek designation hymn/s for chant/s) and psalm refrains by Severus, John bar Aphtunaya, John Psaltes and the Calligrapher and others. An inscription testifies that the manuscript was translated from Greek into Syriac by Paul, bishop of Edessa, while he resided on the island of Cyprus (619–629) and that the manuscript was revised and "corrected" by Jacob in 675. It came to us in this redaction. There are no modal designations. The order of the hymns in it is as follows:

1 The **Nativity** of Our Lord; the **Epiphany**; **Lent**; the Miracles of Our God; **Palm Sunday**;[12] Judas the traitor and the Passion of Our Lord; the Holy Chrism (Wright: "maybe it was composed by the translator Paul"); the Washing of the Feet; the Wife of Pilate; the Thief; the Passion of Our Lord; the Holy Cross; the **Resurrection of Our Lord**; two hymns to be sung before the lessons from the Gospel on the night of Easter Sunday;

two hymns to be sung on the same night after the lessons from the Gospel; two hymns on the eve of Sunday, on entering the Baptistry; for the newly Baptized; for the mid-week of Pentekost; the **Assencion** of Our Lord; Whitsun Day, on the Genuflexion (**Pentekost**).

2 The commemoration of **saints** (the Innocents, the Blessed Virgin, St. John the Baptist, St. Steven); the **Apostles** (St. Paul, St. John the Evangelist, St. Mark the Evangelist, St. John the Evangelist along with St. Thomas the Apostle and St. Thomas); the **Holy Prophets** (Zachariah the Prophet, Job the Just); the **Holy Martyrs** (Leontios, Romanos, Babilas of Antioch, Sergios and Bacchos, Menas, Symeon Stylites, Antony, the Maccabees, the Egyptian Martyrs, the Persian Martyrs, the Gentile Martyrs, the Himyarite Martyrs, the 40 Martyrs), the **Female Martyrs** (Thekla, Drosis, Euphemia, Pelagia); the **Martyrs in common**; the **Holy Fathers**; **Bishops in common** (Ignatios of Antioch, Peter of Alexandria, Gregory Thaumaturgus, Athanasios the Great of Alexandria, Basil and Gregory Nazianzen, Porphyry of Antioch, John Chrysostom, Cyril of Alexandria and the emperor Theodosios II, Severus of Antioch, Peter of Calinicos patriarch of Antioch, Yulian patriarch of Antioch, John bar Aphtunaya).

3 Two hymns for the Church; for the victory and the Christian **Emperors** (Constantine, Honorios, Gratian, Theodosios the Great and the Council of Constantinople); hymn of the **Cemeteries**; hymns after the lesson of the Gospel but chanted before it; anthems; various *prosphorici* (hymns chanted by the choir alone before the reception of the Holy Eucharist);[13] other *prosphorici* for **different occasions**;[14] short *prosphorici* after the reception of the Holy Eucharist;[15] hymns on **various subjects**[16] (wrath, in scarcity of rain, on the earthquakes in the year 562, on the invasion of the Huns, concerning the monks when Severus returned, on psalm XC and on demons); morning hymns (23); evening hymns (15); hymns for **Dead** (for clerks and monks, for priests, bishops, virgins and nuns, widows and at funerals); for the tonsure; on a woman who was converted from the Arian heresy; on St. Symeon the Aged; rogationary hymns; *Gloria in Excelsis*; the inscription with the year 675.

4 After the inscription: anonymous hymns (the consecration of a bishop, of a church, the Holy Chrism, Palm Sunday, Judas the traitor, the martyrs); *prosphorici* for various occasions;[17] other *prosphorici* for various occasions; stanzas for several occasions "to be sung to different tunes." A calendar of saints' days, etc.

Comment. The manuscript contains the oldest known collection of hymns (non-Biblical liturgical chant texts) by Severus and other authors. The hymns are of the Syriac *manita* genre that are analogous, as it was said, to the genre of the troparion. They were designed for various feasts and can be classified in the following order:[18] (1) **Lord's feasts** from Christmas until Pentekost with the Easter triduum: Friday–Sunday; (2) **Saints' feasts** with an indication

of holiness by classes: saints, apostles, prophets, martyrs, reverend fathers, bishops; and (3) for **common services**: for a Church, for Emperors, for cemeteries, for morning and evening offices, for the deceased, etc. Hence, it is obvious that the systematization of the feasts is in three cycles – for the Lord, for saints and for common services. Each cycle is very rich in its liturgical aspect. According to this arrangement, the manuscript could be classified in the above determined **thematic liturgical cyclic order**, in which three thematic cycles are exposed. The Lord's feasts follow in a liturgical order according to the calendar, starting with Christmas. This order was found in the *Iadgari* and in other liturgical books that were used in the Western church until the time of the Carolingians.[19] It is not clear what was in the beginning of Lent. Severus, for instance, testified that the feast of the Presentation of Christ in the Temple, or Candlemas (February 14/2), was known in his time in Jerusalem and had been recently introduced in Constantinople, but that it was not yet known in Antioch; about Palm Sunday he said that the feast had been introduced in Antioch quite recently.[20] The saint's feasts are in a hierarchical order and – as A. Baumstark stresses – they are especially rich in this manuscript that testifies to their increasing occurrence in the saint's cycle.[21] No system of arrangement of the common feasts is revealed. Unlike in the *Iadgari*, there are no prokeimena and beatitudes, hypakoai, kanons or stichera. This could be evidence of the early compilation of the book. Another argument could be found in the inserted list at the end of the book with the dates of the saints' feasts: such dates are not included inside the book.

The lack of modal indications has given Cody reason to reject Baumstark's statement that the manuscript was an Oktoechos: the hymnographic material in it was arranged not according to the modes, but according to thematic feast cycles that were arranged for the Lord, for saints and for the common services.[22] The manuscript could not be determined as an Oktoechos according to its repertory, either, as an Oktoechos includes material for determined services, such as those for the resurrection on Saturday evening and Sunday morning. Such services are missing here. Though the modal designations are not indicated in the manuscript, it is possible that the designation "Oktoechos" was given under the presumption of the eight mode (*oktoechal*) modal system, and not because the book of the Oktoechos contained the typical liturgical material for certain services (see further about this, below, in the manuscript Add. 18,816).

The special interest in this manuscript of a number of researchers is undoubtedly due to the wealth of its repertory and to the sophistication of its presentation, as well as the precise inscription announcing its scribe, its translator from Greek into Syriac and the revision of the translation that was done by Jacob in 675. It is not clear what this revision was like because the Greek original is not known. The manuscript, however, could serve as one of the main sources in characterizing the development of the liturgical hymnographic books in the East during the early time until about the last quarter of the seventh century – the time immediately before the activity of St. John of Damascus.

III. Eighth or ninth century centuries

1. (3) **Add. 17,141** – choral book.[23] It contains hymns ascribed to Ephrem, Isaac of Antioch and Jacob of Batnae gathered together in two basic collections. (1) A collection of *madrasha* for various occasions: for the Epiphany, for the brothers, for penitence, for the Church and Virginity, for the mysteries of our Lord, for death, for Resurrection, for the months of the year, for vigils of the saints and the dead, for St. Peter, St. Thomas, for the consecration of a Bishop, etc.; (2) a collection of *sugyatha*: for penitence, for the months of the year, for the Virgin Mary, etc.

Comment. The book is arranged in a different way from the two manuscripts discussed above. We shall call this arrangement – again conditionally – **anthological order**. Gathered together there are various chants for the feasts of the Lord, the Virgin Mary, saints and for the common services: there is no **cyclicity** in their order. The repertory is grouped into two basic **genres**: *madrasha*, a genre that is considered to be the predecessor of the kontakion and serving as its model (strophic hymns with refrains that played an important role in the development of the Eastern liturgical hymnody);[24] and *sugyatha*, a genre that was close to *madrasha*.[25] Chants on the same topics – for repentance, for the Church, for the months of the year, for the Virgin Mary, etc. – are also included (obviously, they were designed for the same service). According to their topic, the hymns are penitential, for the dead, for Resurrection and for the Virgin (respectively in Greek *katanuktika*, *nekrosima*, *anastasima* and *theotokia*). The earliest designation for a penitential chant (*katanuktika*) is found in this manuscript. It is ascribed to Ephrem.

IV. Ninth century

1. (4) **Add. 14,486** – Lectionary, dated from 824.[26] The manuscript contains the following hymns: for the **Annunciation** of Zachariah, for the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin, for the **Nativity** of St. John the Baptist, for the Nativity of Our Lord, for the Circumcision of Our Lord, a **commemoration** of the Blessed Virgin, for the Massacre of the Innocents, for the **Epiphany**, for the commemoration of St. John the Baptist [readings], the first Sunday of **Lent**, for **Palm Sunday**, for **Holy Week** (started from Tuesday on), for **Easter**, for Monday of the **Bright Week**, for consecration of the altar, for consecration of the church, for a bishop, for Friday of the confessor, for the **New Sunday**, for the **Ascension**, for **Pentekost**, for the Vision of the Holy Cross, for martyrs/saints, for commemoration of the Holy Fathers and for the deceased.

Comment. Hymns for the great Lord's and Virgin's feasts are gathered together in the manuscript. They are arranged in a **thematic liturgical cyclic order**. This is the first of the studied Syriac manuscripts that starts with the Annunciation, just like the *Iadgari*. It can be seen that the Nativity of St. John the Baptist precedes the Nativity of the Lord: the hierarchy puts the

Baptist before the Lord. An exegetical explanation of this is that the Baptist was an angel who came before the Lord and reported His arrival.[27]

2. (5) **Add. 14,504** – choral book, 164 folia, apparently ninth century.[28] Wright determined it as a **Tropologion** (1), or a collection of kanons and troparia for various saints' days and other occasions.[29] **There are no modal designations**. For the first time here, however, there are **dates for the commemorations of the saints**. They are indicated **within the services themselves**, not in a separate table at the end of the manuscript as in the "Oktoechos of Severus." Some chants in the margin are ascribed to **John the Monk** (in all probability John of Damascus). The services are in the following order. (1) **Saints**: St. Steven, 27th of the first *Kanun* (**December**);[30] Basil and Gregory, 1st of the second *Kanun* (**January**); Antony, 17th of the second *Kanun*; Gregory Nazianzen, 25th; John Chrysostom, 27th (N.B., S.K.: transmission of his relics); Ephrem Syrus, 1st of *Shebat* (**February**); Severus of Antioch, 8th of *Shebat*; Theodore in the first week of Lent (N.B., S.K.: the memory of St. Theodore is celebrated on the Saturday before the first Sunday of Lent in the contemporary calendar, as well); the Forty Martyrs in Lent from the 7th to the 14th of *Adar* (**March**); the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin, 24th of *Adar*; George, 23d of *Nisan* (**April**); John the Evangelist, 8th of *Jyar* (**May**); the Blessed Virgin, 15th of *Jyar*; Andrew the Apostle and Andrew the Martyr, 16th of *Jyar*; Leontios, 18th of *Haziran* (**June**); the Nativity of John the Baptist, 25th of *Haziran*; Peter, 28th of *Haziran*; Paul, 29th of *Haziran*; Thomas, 3d of *Tamuz* (**July**); Domitios, 5th of *Tamuz*; Kosmas and Damianos, 7th of *Tamuz*; Kyriacos and his mother Julitta, 15th of *Tamuz*; Paphnutios, 20th of *Tamuz*; Symeon Stylites, 27th of *Tamuz*; the Transfiguration of our Lord, 6th of *Ab.* (**August**); Rabulas of Edessa, 7th of *Ab.*; the Blessed Virgin, full moon of *Ab.* (the Assumption); Julian Saba, 26th of *Ab.*; the Decollation of St. John the Baptist, 29th of *Ab.*; the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin, 8th of *Ilul* (**September**); Julian the Martyr, 10th of *Ilul*; the Dedication of the Church, 12th of *Ilul*;[31] the Dedication of the Church of Golgotha and of the Resurrection, 13th of *Ilul*; the Blessed Virgin, 18th of Ilul; Sergios and Bachos, 7th of the first *Teshrin* (**October**); Gurya, Shamma and Habib, 15th of *Teshrin*; Barbara, 4th of the first *Kanun* (**December**). (2) **Common services**: Sts. Apostles, St. Athanasios, Sts. Martyrs and for the deceased.

Comment. The manuscript determined by Wright as a Tropologion, is of the Menaion type. It contains kanons and troparia for the immovable feasts. Dates are indicated in the very services of saints. At the end are included some common services without dates (for the apostles, for martyrs and for the deceased). The prototype of the manuscript undoubtedly should have been Greek. A. Cody pointed out that Tropologia with services for the feasts of the saints were written in Syria in the ninth and tenth centuries, and that they used Greek terminology for both the designation of the book of the Tropologion (*Trωplygyn*) and for the genres included – kanon (*qanwn*) and troparion (*trwpry*).[32] The Menaion cycle starts with December, which

means that its prototype was obviously of the older type – from the time of the *Iadgari*, for instance. Both the increased number of saints' feasts in comparison with the *Iadgari* and the relocation of some of them to their contemporary dates of commemoration speak to a later redaction of this manuscript. For instance, the feast of Sts. Peter and Paul that is given on December 28 in the *Iadgari* is shifted here to June 28 and 29, quite near to the contemporary calendar. In the contemporary calendar, as it is known, the two saints are celebrated together on June 29. It could be concluded from here that the calendar, according to which the beginning of the church year started with December (with the Nativity of St. John the Baptist/Christ or with the Annunciation of Zachariah/the Blessed Virgin), had been preserved in Syria during the ninth century. At the same time, however, the increased number of feasts and the relocation of some of them to dates that align with the modern calendar suggests that the prototype of this manuscript could have been from the time of the Studites, when Theodore the Studite started the hymnographic reforms in the Studios monastery. The manuscript could be considered as evidence of the synthesis between the Syriac and the Studite liturgical practices. Obviously, the former was well known to the hymnographers at the Studios monastery.[33] The lack of Lent and Easter time also speaks to a later date of the writing of this manuscript: it contains the immovable festal cycle that is separated from the movable one. The manuscript also represents an early stage of this separation because the feasts in the summer period do not yet follow the modern liturgical successive order. The comment of this fact goes beyond the tasks of this study (it would be interesting to know, for instance, why there are three feasts for the Theotokos between March and August or why the memories of St. Peter and St. Paul are given on two different dates, etc.). The listed older and newer characteristics of this manuscript could mean that there were two prototypes or *Forlage* used when it was compiled: an older one of the type of the Georgian *Iadgari* with the Annunciation-Christmas as the beginning of the church year, and a newer one of the type of the Greek Tropologion in its Studios redaction with September 1 as the beginning of the church year (see next chapter). Hence, the time of its writing could be specified – it goes as early as the end of the ninth century. Also, it could be stressed in conclusion that if we determine the book as a Tropologion, it is the first known Tropologion of the Menaion type containing saints' feasts for the entire liturgical year – for all the twelve months. The feasts for each month, however, are very selectively chosen and their number is quite limited.

3. (6) **Add. 18,816** – 115 folia.[34] The manuscript contains 365 hymns of Severus, John bar Aphtunaya abbot of Kinnersin, John Psaltes and others translated by Paul of Edessa and revised by Jacob of Edessa. The hymns are of the genre of the *maneyata* and are arranged in the same order as in manuscript Add. 17,134, the "Oktoechos of Severus." Unlike the latter, however, there are modal designations here.[35]

Comment. The manuscript is a copy of the "Oktoechos of Severus" from 675. Like it, the manuscript is arranged in the **thematic liturgical cyclic order**.

Of all the Syriac manuscripts discussed up to here, this is the first manuscript with modal designations. A. Cody points out that the modal designations are put on chants of the second and third sections in the "Oktoechos of Severus": for the saints, martyrs and common services.[36] There are no modal designations on the chants of the first section where the feasts of the Lord (Resurrection including) are included; such designations are read in the margins and they have been seemingly written by a different hand from the basic text.[37] The availability of modal designations in this manuscript probably gave a reason for A. Baumstark to determine the early manuscript Add. 17,134, with chants by Severus, as the "Oktoechos of Severus." However, the availability of modal designations only does not mean that the book could be determined as a book of the Oktoechos, as it was said, a criterion for determining a book as a liturgical one is the repertory included in it, designed for a liturgical use (this refers to all liturgical books).

V. Tenth century

1. (7) **Add. 14,505** – choral book.[38] Wright determines it also as a **Tropologion** (2) containing kanons and troparia for saints' feasts and for the common services. The contents of this manuscript are almost identical to those of Add. 14,504 from the ninth century. Several kanons are ascribed in the margins to John, a monk of the convent of Mar Cosmas at Callinicos. The saints' feasts start with hymns for St. Steven, like in the first Tropologion. Hymns for Basil and Gregory, Antony and so on then follow, including hymns for Severus of Antioch. The saints' feasts follow in chronological order, according to the liturgical calendar. For the common services, chants are included for the holy Apostles, for martyrs, the Blessed Virgin, the deceased and the Holy Prophets.

Comment. The manuscript could be determined as a Tropologion of the Menaion type like Add. 14, 504.

2. (8) **Add. 17,135** – 189 folia.[39] The manuscript contains two collections of kanons with modal designations for several occasions: (1) for the Resurrection, arranged in the eight modes; for St. George on the 23d of *Nisan*; for Sundays in Lent, also arranged in the eight modes; kathismata for the Blessed Virgin in the eight modes, etc. [all the chants up to here are for the **resurrectional services,** except those for St. George]; (2) kanons for the feasts of the whole year "according to the Mesopotamian use:" the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin, the Nativity of Christ, the Epiphany, St. John the Baptist [**immovable feasts**]; the Forty martyrs, Palm Sunday, St. Simeon and the Presentation, New Sunday and St. Thomas, the Ascension, Pentekost [**movable feasts**]; St. Antony, St. Steven, Severus [**immovable feasts**]; for Saints, the Martyrs, the Blessed Virgin, the Transfiguration, the Holy Cross, the Death of the Blessed Virgin, the Martyrs in common, the Dead, stanzas for Lent and penitential stanzas (*paraklitika*) [**common services**].

Comment. The manuscript is composed of two sections. The first one contains a resurrectional Oktoechos with kanons and the cycle of theotokia

kathismata for Sundays including those for Lent. The second section is composed of an **uninterrupted calendar liturgical order**: immovable feasts, movable feasts, immovable feasts again and memories for common services. According to this compositional structure, the manuscript is very close to the Georgian *Iadgari*.[40]

VI. Tenth or eleventh centuries

1. (9) **Add. 14,507** – choral book, 212 folia, collection of kanons and troparia for the cycle of the whole year in both Greek and Syriac.[41] The manuscript starts with the **Annunciation** of Zachariah, the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin, the **Nativity** of St. John the Baptist, the Revelation of the Angel to St. Joseph, the Nativity of Our Lord, the **commemoration** of the Blessed Virgin (N.B., S.K. – later Council of the Blessed Virgin?), the commemoration of St. Steven, the Massacre of the Innocents, St. Basil and St. Gregory, the Epiphany, the Beheading of St. John the Baptist, the Presentation in the Temple, commemoration of Severus of Antioch, of priests, of the Dead, of St. Theodore, **Lent**, the Forty Martyrs, **Palm Sunday**, **Passion (Holy Week)** with weekdays from Monday through Saturday, the **Resurrection**, the **Ascension**, **Pentekost**, New Sunday, the Adoration of the Cross, St. Sergios and Bachos, St. Minas, Barbara and Yuliana, Akademes, Simeon the Stilyst and for all the martyrs/saints.

Comment. The hymns follow in an **uninterrupted calendar liturgical order** of immovable, movable, immovable feasts. In all probability, the "New Sunday" after Pentekost refers to the Sunday of All Saints. According to its compositional structure, the manuscript is very close to the *Iadgari* as well.

VII. Eleventh century

From this century on, the modal designations are written down systematically.

1. (10) **Vat. syr. 94** – a manuscript written between 1010 and 1030. Juseppe Assemani determined it as an "Oktoechos" because all the chants it contains, which are of the *maneyata* type, are in the eight-mode order. A. Cody describes it in detail.[42] The manuscript starts with the *maneyata* for the **Lord's feasts**. They follow the order of the eight modes. After them, chants for the **saints' feasts**[43] are included, and chants for the **common services** are at the end: for the Blessed Virgin, the martyrs/saints, repentance and the dead. The modes here follow in the order 1, 5, 2, 6, 3, 7, 4 and 8. After the *maneyata* chants close to them, the so-called *takshepata* are included.[44] They appear together, both with the *maneyata* and as a separate collection. The *takshepata* are not found in the older manuscripts. In Vat. syr. 94 the *takshepata* are arranged in two modal orders: (1) for the weekdays in the common services they follow the above order: 1, 5, 2, 6, 3, 7, 4 and 8; (2) for the Resurrection – in the succession of the eight modes from the first to the eight; and for the Holy Cross in the modes 5, 7 and 8.

Comment. The repertory in this manuscript is arranged like that of the "Oktoechos of Severus" – in a **thematic liturgical cyclic order:** the three basic thematic liturgical cycles are included – the feasts for the Lord, for saints and for the common services. The chants for the common services are among the earliest ones with the modal designations (see, for instance, above the manuscript Add. 18,816, a copy of the "Oktoechos of Severus"). There are two ways of the writing of the modes: (1) the alternating pair authentic, plagal, which was found in the Gregorian chant as well;[45] and (2) in the succession from the first to the eighth mode: it was found as a basic one in the Slavic manuscripts from the Eastern region.[46] It is clear to see that both ways were used in the early time in Jerusalem: many of the early Syriac manuscripts follow the practice of the Holy City. It could be suggested that the alternation of the four authentic modes with four plagal ones was a later practice. It seems like it was spread from Constantinople, but this remains a questionable.

VIII. Twelfth–thirteenth centuries

1. (11) **Add. 14,698** – choral book, 98 folia, paper.[47] Wright has determined the book as a **Tropologion** (3) or "collection of Greek kanons and Syriac anthems for the first half of the year." It contains kanons for the consecration of the Church, the **Annunciation** of Zachariah, the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin, the visit of Mary to Elisabeth, the **Nativity** of St. John the Baptist, the Revelation of St. Joseph, the Nativity of our Lord, the commemoration of the Blessed Virgin, the Massacre of the Innocents, the commemoration of St. Basil and St. Gregory, the **Epiphany**, St. John the Baptist, the commemoration of St. Steven, for the week of Nineveh, the Presentation of the Lord in the Temple, for some saints, the first week of **Lent**, the commemoration of Ephrem and Theodore, for the second, third, fourth and fifth week of Lent, for the Forty Martyrs, the Resurrection of Lazarus, **Palm Sunday** and **Passion Week**.

2. (12) **Add. 14,712** – choral book, 111 folia, paper.[48] In all probability this is the second part of the above manuscript, a **Tropologion** (3a). It contains "Greek and Syriac kanons" for the second half of the year. The manuscript starts with chants for the **Resurrection**, arranged in the eight modes – this is where the above manuscript ends. Chants for the **New Sunday**, the **Ascension**, **Pentekost or Whitsun Day**, the Decease of the Blessed Virgin and the Encaenia of the Holy Cross then follow.

Comment. The two manuscripts display archaic features. These are evident in the placement of both the Annunciation at the time of the Nativity and the immovable feasts among the movable ones of Lent (see, for instance, the first week of Lent). That means that in Syria, almost until the thirteenth century, an old tradition from the time of the *Iadgari* had been preserved. Also like the *Iadgari*, the manuscripts were compiled in an **uninterrupted calendar liturgical order**: the saints' feasts were placed between those of the Lord.

3. (13) **Add. 14,713** – 167 folia, paper.[49] The manuscript contains chants by Severus, John bar Aphtunaya and others. They are designed for two circles of feasts which follow each other: (1) for the **Nativity** of Our Lord, the **Epiphany**, the Presentation of St. Simeon, **Lent**, the Miracles of Our Lord, **Palm Sunday**, **Passion Week**, the Holy Cross, the **Resurrection** arranged in the eight modes, the **Ascension**, **Pentekost**; (2) for the **common services**: common hymns for the Blessed Virgin, the Martyrs, the Dead and of penance, arranged in the eight modes, which are in the following order: 1, 5, 2, 6, 3, 7, 4, 8. Wright pointed out that there are also "supplicatory hymns of all kinds according to the eight tones similarly to these for the Common."[50] He also pointed out that the *propsalmata* were chanted before the reading of the Scripture Lessons, followed by hymns of praise that had to be used at the celebration of the holy Eucharist. At the end of the manuscript, a calendar of feasts is included, along with saints' days, etc., "according to the use of the Syrian Church."[51]

Comment. The repertory of the manuscript follows the **thematic liturgical cyclic order**. Chants for the great Lord's feasts from Christmas to Pentekost, followed by chants for the common services, are included. The manuscript testifies to a stable tradition of transmission of such an order from the sixth (look at the earliest Lectionary presented above) until the thirteenth century connected with the name of Severus of Antioch. The availability of the designation *propsalmata* in turn shows the relationship between the Syriac and Palestino-Byzantine tradition from the time before the eighth century, when various refrains with different designations already appeared in the written sources. Some of these designations has got their names according to the place where a given chant was performed in the liturgy.

The following could be concluded about the thirteen presented Syriac manuscripts from the sixth through the thirteenth centuries in terms of the three basic parameters studied – the liturgical calendar, the structure of the repertory and the genres included.[52] It is true that the earliest chants with systematic eight-mode designations are those for the resurrectional and common services in both the *Iadgari* and the Syriac manuscripts:[53] such systematically written modal designations were not found in the sources before the seventh century.

In terms of the **liturgical calendar**, the Syriac manuscripts have preserved an **archaic tradition**. Manuscripts in which the church year starts with the **Epiphany-Nativity** (the two feasts were not separated – they were celebrated on the same day), display an **older tradition than that of the *Iadgari***; manuscripts, in which the church year starts with the **Annunciation-Nativity**, display a tradition **comparable to that in *Iadgari***.[54] It was already said that the celebration of the last pair of feasts (the Annunciation-Nativity) together was practiced in Jerusalem somewhere until the mid-sixth century. Unlike Jerusalem, however, the Syriac tradition links these feasts not only with the Blessed Virgin and Christ, but also with Zachariah and St. John the Baptist. They were placed in a hierarchical order indicating seniority: Zachariah,

the Blessed Virgin, the Baptist and Christ. Clearly, the tradition to celebrate the beginning of the church year with the Annunciation-Nativity had been preserved in Syria well after the sixth century.

In terms of the **structuring/composition of the repertory**, the studied Syriac manuscripts could be systematized in four types, which are clearly outlined.

The first type is of a **thematic liturgical cyclic order**. It is revealed in most of the manuscripts. It could be seen in the earliest Lectionary of the sixth century. The repertory is exposed in three thematic festal cycles that follow each other: the feasts of the Lord (in later manuscripts, also the feasts of the Blessed Virgin), the feasts of saints and the common services. The cycle for the saints may be missing, as it is in the earliest presented Lectionary. This could mean both an indication of an older practice and of the compilation of the services for the Lord and for the common services, first and only after the services for the saints. It was suggested that the Lord's feasts had formed the oldest layer of liturgical texts (including chants).[55] The repertory for the **feasts of the Lord** is arranged in a **liturgical order**, according to the calendar of the greatest of them that are among the oldest feasts. It seems that they were formed as late as the fourth century. The feasts in most of these manuscripts start with the Nativity (the Nativity of St. John the Baptist and/or of Christ) and/or the Annunciation, followed by the Epiphany, Lent, Palm Sunday, Holy Week, the Resurrection, the Ascension and Pentekost. The manuscripts show the filling out of the festal time over the years: the newly established feasts were put between the old ones. Some manuscripts, for instance, also include the Saturday of Lazarus, the Sunday of St. Thomas (New Sunday), the Sunday of the Paralytic, etc. The repertory of the **feasts of the saints** is very often arranged in a **hierarchical order**: it usually starts with the feasts for saints and/or apostles, followed by those for the prophets, martyrs, reverend Fathers, bishops and so on. This in turn suggests that the cycle of the saints was not compiled spontaneously and did not entered the manuscripts in such a way: it was obviously included in the latter after some systematization. The last cycle is that of the **common services** in this type of book. It always follows the other two. Its appearance with the feasts of the Lord only suggests that the feasts of the saints were originally put between the Lord's feasts and those of the common services. In the latter, we find all the classes of chants that are in the Georgian *Iadgari*: *anastasima* (for Sundays), *martyrika* (for the martyrs/saints), *nekrosima* (for the deceased), *katanuktika* (for repentance), *theotokia* (for the Blessed Virgin), *apostolika* (for the Apostles) and *stavrosima* (for the Holy Cross). They do not display any determined order. In the early time, the common services were used most often since the services for the saints were few. The latter increased during the years. They were probably put in manuscripts according to a certain hierarchical thematic order in both Eastern and Western worship.[56] The thematic liturgical cyclic order of the arrangement of the repertory in manuscripts is evident in the time between the sixth and the thirteenth centuries.[57] Lectionaries and sources with chants by Severus and his contemporaries, including

the earliest copy of the "Oktoechos of Severus" from 675, refer to this type. From the ninth century onwards, all the manuscripts of this type started actualizing with precise modal designations written above the chants.

The thematic liturgical cyclic order of the arrangement of the repertory is also found in the early Western hymnographic liturgical books, like the Antiphonar; for instance, its copies are known from the eighth century onwards. The feasts of the Lord, saints and common services alternate in this type of book. The feasts are grouped into three cycles, respectively *Temporale* (feasts of time: they represent the history of Christ as both a Man and God from His Nativity to His Ascension), *Sanctorale* (feasts of saints) and *Commune Sanctorum* (common services).[58]

The second type of arrangement of the repertory could be called **anthological**. There is no determined system for the arrangement of the repertory of this type. The repertory is grouped by genres like *madrasha* and *sughyta*, *prosphorici* and kanons, as well as those designed for special services like funerals, for instance. This type of arrangement is revealed in manuscripts from the eighth to the tenth centuries.[59] There are no modal designations in any manuscript of this type, which is an indication of its antiquity.

The third type of the arrangement of the repertory is the **uninterrupted liturgical calendar order** that is known from the *Iadgari*: a repertory for the immovable, movable and immovable feasts follows in a continuous order for the resurrectional and common services. The manuscripts of this type were written between the ninth and the thirteenth centuries.[60] All of them contain mainly kanons.

And the fourth type of the arrangement is that of the **interrupted liturgical calendar order**, known according to the contemporary practice: the feasts are grouped together in the immovable and movable cycles that are separated from each other. Chants are in the eight-mode successions for the resurrectional and common services. Of this type, Tropologia of the Menaion type are preserved, as well as those of the Oktoechos type designed for the resurrectional services. What set it apart from contemporary practice is at the beginning of the church year: in the Syriac manuscripts, the old date is preserved as in the *Iadgari* – it starts at the time of the Nativity; in contemporary practice, the new church year starts on September 1. It is suggested that the latter date had entered the liturgical calendar of Constantinople, and respectively of the Byzantine Empire, by the eighth century. The same date was also accepted in the newly baptized countries in the East like Bulgaria, Russia, Serbia and Wallachia between the ninth and the fourteenth centuries. This date had obviously not been immediately accepted in Syria. In comparison with *Iadgari*, the Syriac books of this type show a rearrangement of the dates of the feasts, many of which remain in the contemporary liturgical calendar. The Syriac manuscripts of this type were written between the ninth and the twelfth centuries.[61]

Of the four presented types of the arrangement of the repertory in the Syriac manuscripts, the first two, the thematic liturgical cyclic order and the anthological one, are revealed in chronologically earlier manuscripts. The other two types are revealed in later ones. There is no reason to believe that all these manuscripts do not represent the contemporary practice of their time of writing, that is, they represent an **actual type of liturgical book** that was in use at the time of its compilation.

In terms of the third studied parameter, the **available genres**, the following could be said: a basic genre in the earliest Syriac manuscripts is the *maneyato*, which is analogous to the troparion. In the time leading up to the ninth century, there are other genres as well, such as *madrasha, sughita* and *prosphorici*. The books could contain either separate genres (one or more than one) or separate services (for example, for funerals). Such books could be considered the oldest ones. The books containing the funeral services, and respectively, the services for deceased, are among the especially oldest ones.[62] The books with the collected *maneyata*, as could be seen by the manuscripts preserved, were among the most used. Having in mind that the *maneyato* corresponds to the genre of the troparion, the question arises of whether the books containing *maneyata* were not analogous to the Tropologion, considered as a book with collected troparia. The genre of the kanon appears in later Syriac manuscripts, those of the Georgian *Iadgari* type and of the Greek Tropologion. The penetration of this genre in the Syriac manuscripts should be considered as a later phenomenon. Some of the inscriptions in manuscripts of the Georgian *Iadgari* type, in an uninterrupted order, and of the Tropologion, in an interrupted one, show that the books were compiled according to the practice of the Antiochean church (Add. 14,510: a Tropologion in the interrupted order), of the Mesopotamian church (Add. 17,135: a Tropologion in an uninterrupted order) and/or the Melkite church (Add. 17,133 and Add. 14,508: tropologia in an interrupted order). That means that the Tropologion was used in worship of these churches as well. This, in turn, broadens our knowledge about the geographical distribution of the *Iadgari*/Tropologion.[63]

Modal designations were put in manuscripts from the ninth century onwards. The earliest such designations are revealed in both the resurrectional and common services.[64] The earliest eight-mode successions are revealed in the genre of the kanon for various feasts. A. Cody and P. Jeffery believe that the earliest consecutive order of eight modes is in the genre of the kanon.[65] This is true for the preserved Syriac manuscripts. In the Georgian *Iadgari*, however, the succession of eight modes is evident in the genre of the kanon but also for the genres of the stichera and kathismata. The eight mode successions become typical for the repertory of the early Oktoechoi, compiled of the kathismata, stichera and kanons for both the resurrectional and the common services. The lack of such successions in the "Oktoechos of Severus" gave A. Cody reason to rightly conclude that "in no sense can this seventh-century manuscript be called an Oktoechos" and that there isn't

any evidence that the book of the Oktoechos had existed before the eighth century – the eight mode system could have existed before the systematization of the chants in the eight modes.[66] The problem of the eight mode system and that one of the book of the Oktoechos are actually two different problems. The early sources discussed here confirm this conclusion.[67]

The indication of the modes in two different systems in the Syriac manuscripts, namely the alternation of the authentic – plagal mode in the succession of 1, 5, 2, 6, 3, 7, 4, 8 and the numeric succession from the first to the eighth mode was probably an older Jerusalem practice that was lost after the ninth century in Byzantium. The former system, as it was said, remained in the Western church. It is revealed in the Gregorian chants from the ninth century onwards. The second system that of the numerical consecutive order, is revealed in the sources originating from the Slavic Orthodox countries – Bulgaria, Russia and Serbia. The system of four authentic and four plagal modes (1, 2, 3, 4, plagal 1, plagal 2, plagal 3 and plagal 4) was established and used in Byzantium.

The Syriac manuscripts as a whole display various archaic features that in turn allow us to reconstruct the early history of the liturgical hymnographic books from the sixth century onwards. They also allow us to determine the stages of their development, the changes that occurred in these stages, the liturgy and the repertory practiced. It is important to stress that the Georgian *Iadgari*, in its copies preserved and known, is not the earliest hymnographic book. The preserved Syriac hymnographic books are earlier than the Georgian ones. The "Oktoechos of Severus" in its copy from 675 could be considered one of the prototypes of the earlier hymnographic books. Like the *Iadgari*, which shows similar characteristics to the Georgian Lectionary, the "Oktoechos of Severus" shows similar characteristics to the Syriac Lectionary from the sixth century. In terms of the three studied parameters here, the "Oktoechos of Severus" and the Syriac Lectionary display more archaic features than the Georgian *Iadgari*: first, they start with the Epiphany-Nativity, a practice that preceded the beginning of the church year with the Annunciation-Nativity as it is in the Georgian *Iadgari*; second, there are no modal designations and distinct resurrectional repertory; and third, there is no diversity of genres, the basic genre in the "Oktoechos of Severus," as it described by Wright, is the *maneyato* (the troparion).

The mentioned archaic characteristics are clearly revealed in the Syriac Lectionary of the sixth century and in the "Oktoechos of Severus." Both books were compiled in the thematic liturgical cyclic order that is revealed in manuscripts, as it was said, until the thirteenth century. The rest of the manuscripts displaying this order show changes in terms of the three pointed out archaic characteristics. First, the beginning of the church year has been changed, not the Epiphany-Nativity but the Annunciation-Nativity; second, from the ninth century onwards the modal designations began to be written above the chants, including the later copies of the "Oktoechos of Severus;" and third, various genres were included, including the kanon. All of this

speaks to a constant **updating of the books** of this type, while **retaining their basic structural characteristics associated with the compositional organization of the repertory**. Hence, the "Oktoechos of Severus" in its earliest copy from 675 displays archaic features that distinguish it from the other books in the same thematic liturgical cyclic order. This manuscript indeed transmits a very old practice that probably goes back before the time of Severus. It is the earliest representative of this practice and, respectively, the oldest preserved hymnographic book known until now. We shall term this manuscript as a hymnal in order to distinguish it from the *Iadgari*/Tropologion, although hymnic material is included in both the latter and in the Syriac source, but was disposed of in a different way.[68]

The Syriac books of the Georgian *Iadgari* type are undoubtedly later than the "Oktoechos of Severus," in terms of their compositional structure. They bear witness to the contemporary practice in Syria from the eighth century onwards. Since the Georgian *Iadgari* is considered as evidence of worship practices in Jerusalem, this type of book, along with the Syriac manuscripts of the *Iadgari* type, documents the Jerusalem hymnographic practice. The manuscripts of the type of the contemporary practice further show the development of the Syriac hymnography. The Syriac manuscripts of the type of both the uninterrupted and the interrupted order display the peculiarities in the use of such practices locally, in our case – in Syria.[69] The investigation of the stated problem, however, goes beyond the objectives of this work: it requires a separate study.

The Syriac manuscripts, in conclusion, represent a homogenous written tradition in transmitting the hymnographic repertory from the sixth/seventh through the thirteenth century. The study of the changes in this transmission is one of the keys that could give us a more comprehensive understanding of the development of both the hymnography and worship of the Eastern Church. The comparative study of early Syrian, Georgian and Armenian eucharistic toposes has shown that the main source of inspiration for their creation was Syria.[70]

Notes

1 Wright, W. *Catalogue of Syriac Manuscripts…* The description of manuscripts in Wright's Catalogue is in both languages – Syrian and English.
2 Burkitt, F. C. The Old Lectionary of Jerusalem. *JTS*, 24, July, 1923, 415–424.
3 Wright, W. Op. cit., pp. 176–177. See the description of this manuscript in: Burkitt, F. C. *The Early Syriac Lectionary System*, 2nd ed. Piscataway, NJ, 2007 (reprint of the 1st ed. Oxford, 1923); Cody, A. Op. cit. Cody dates it to the early sixth century.
4 Differentiations of units with numbers in brackets are mine, S.K. The greatest feasts that are revealed in most of the studied manuscripts are emphasized in bold.
5 Burkitt, F. C. *The Early Syriac…*, p. 19.
6 Ibidem.
7 Burkitt, F. C. The Jacobite Service for Holy Saturday. *JTS*, 24, 424–427 (p. 426).

8 Cody, A. Op. cit.
9 Burkitt, F. C. *The Early Syriac Lectionary*…, p. 21.
10 Wright, W. Op. cit., pp. 330–339. The manuscript is described by E. W. Brooks in: Brooks, E. W. The Hymns of Severus and Others in the Syriac Version of Paul of Edessa as Revised by James of Edessa. *PO*, VI, fasc. 1. Paris, 1911.
11 Baumstark, A. Das Festbrevier und Kirchenjahr …, S. 45–47.
12 There are several hymns at this point in Brooks, which are missing in Wright, see Brooks, E. W. Op. cit., pp. 10–44.
13 See Baumstrk, A. Ein frühchristliches Theotokion in mehrsprachiger Überlieferung und verwandte Texte des ambrosianischen Ritus. *OC*. B. 9, 1920, 36–72 (S. 56); see also Taft, R. The Great Entrance…, p. 66.
14 At this point, Brooks has listed the Nativity, the Epiphany, Easter, the Ascension and Pentekost; for the martyrs/saints and for the Blessed Virgin. *Prosphorici* "for every day" follow, see Brooks, E. W. Op. cit., 10–44.
15 Here Brooks listed the following feasts: for the Nativity, for the baptized, for the Ascension, for the saints, bishops and for Sundays.
16 Brooks designated them "hymns for every day," see the description on pp. 10–44.
17 A. Baumstark believes that *prosphorici* means communions, see Baumstark, A. Das Festbrevier…, S. 47.
18 R. Taft systematized the *maneyata* into three groups in this manuscript: after the reading of the Apostle, at the communion and after the communion, see Taft, R. The Precommunion Rites. *OCA*, 261, 2000, p. 279.
19 As it was said until the end of the fourth century the Nativity of Christ remained very close connected with the Epiphany: the two feasts were celebrated together on the same day. St. John Chrysostom reported that for the first time the Nativity of Christ was celebrated on December 25 in Antioch in 386 or 388 and a little bit later it was introduced in Alexandria and in Jerusalem. When the two feasts, the Epiphany and the Nativity, were separated, the former became a feast of the Baptism, see Скабалланович, М. *Толковый Типикон*… Вып. 1, с. 303.
20 According to Talley, T. J. *The Origins*…, 1st ed., p. 186.
21 Baumstark, A. Das Festbrevier…, S. 45–47. Skaballanovich cited a Syriac Menologion as the oldest Christian Menologion that had been preserved. It was compiled between 370 and 400 and preserved in a manuscript from 411. Baumstark stressed that in this manuscript bishops, presbyters and deacons that died as martyrs in Persia are listed in a hierarchical order. The Menologion starts with December. The memories for the martyrs are utmost. The bishops are Roman, Alexandrian, Antiochean and Palestinian. Among the saints mentioned are: Steven on December 26 (in the *Iadgari* St. Steven is pointed out on December 27), John and Jakob (December 27), Peter and Paul (December 28), etc. The deceased were put in a close connection to the saints, see Скабалланович, М. Цит. съч. Вып. 1, с. 314. The hierarchical order of the saints' feasts was discussed later in the two redactions of the Vita of Joseph the Hymnographer. The first redaction was written by Theophanos, the first biographer of Joseph who compiled the Joseph's Vita shortly after his death in 886; the second redaction was written by another of Joseph's biographers, John the Deacon. Theophanos reported that the Joseph's hymns were chanted by "the friends of Lord:" the apostles, prophets, saints, ascetics, monks and various other saints. John cited the following order: the apostles, martyrs, prophets, hierarchs, see Patterson-Ševčenko, N. Canon and Calendar: the Role of the Ninth-Century Hymnographer in Shaping the Celebration of the Saints. In: *Byzantium in the Ninth Century: Dead or Alive?* Ed. by L. Brubaker. Variorum, 1998, 101–115 (pp. 102–103). The same order that was cited by John was revealed in a homily by Patriarch Photios that was devoted to the Church of the Blessed Virgin Pharos in the Imperial Palace in Constantinople: "… the images of the choir of apostles and martyrs, prophets and patriarchs will fill and embellish the whole church…"

According to Gouma-Peterson, T. Originality in Byzantine Religious Paintings (Mosaics and Frescos). In: *Originality in Byzantine Literature, Art, and Music*. Ed. by A. R. Littlewood. Oxford, 1995, pp. 131–132.

22 Cody, A. Op. cit., 89–113.

23 Wright, W. Op. cit., pp. 359–363.

24 See Brock, S. *Studies in Syriac Christianity*. Variorum, 1992, p. 141.

25 According to Baumstark, the two genres, *madrasha* and *sugyatha*, were of the kind of the antiphons from the hymnic poetry, see Baumstark, A. Das Festbrevier…, S. 49. According to Brock, the same two genres were very close to the earliest kontakia in terms of the treatment of the dialogue, see Brock, S. P. From Ephrem to Romanus…, p. 143.

26 Ibidem, pp. 149–152.

27 Fassler, M. Sermons, Sacramentories…, p. 22.

28 Ibidem, p. 280.

29 As it was stressed here, the term "troparion" covers the hymnic repertory in general, and Wright probably still had in mind the kathismata and the stichera, that are also of the hymnic repertory as troparia.

30 The months are translated by Arch. Sergij, see Appendix Сергий. *Полный месяцослов...*, с. 615–635.

31 September 12. In the *Iadgari* this feast is pointed out a day later – on September 13 (see Chapter 3).

32 Cody, A. Op. cit., p. 102. According to Husmann, the kanon was accepted in the Syriac Orthodox literature from the Byzantine one, see Husmann, H. Syrischer und Byzantinischer Oktoechos. Kanones und Qanune. *DOP*, 44, 1978, 65–73.

33 H. Husmann cited one more Syriac Tropologion from the ninth century, housed at the Sinai library "St. Catherine:" Sinai Syriac 69. He defined it as an Oktoechos containing a repertory in eight modes for Easter and for weekdays after Pentekost. Husmann also pointed out the following chants: anastasima, katanuktika and stavrosima, see Husmann, H. Eine alte orientalische…, 156–196.

34 Wright, W. Op. cit., pp. 339–340.

35 Wright did not report the modal designations; such are reported by A. Cody, see Cody, A. Op. cit., p. 92.

36 Cody, A. Ibidem.

37 Ibidem.

38 Wright, W. Op. cit., pp. 282–283.

39 Ibidem, pp. 293–294. According to Wright, the manuscript is from about the tenth century.

40 P. Jeffery points out some copies of the *Iadgari* in which the resurrectional services were put in the beginning of the book, as it is here, see Jeffery, P. The Sundays…, pp. 72–75.

41 Wright, W. Op. cit., pp. 283–285.

42 Cody, A. Op. cit., p. 92.

43 A. Cody calls them "non-Lord's feasts," see Cody, A. Op. cit., 89–113.

44 Cody comments on the inclusion of the *takshepata* in this manuscript. He defines them as strophic chants similar to the *maneyata* that is again of the type of the troparion. The difference between the *maneyata* and *takshepata* is that the former are preceded by a verse/verses from a psalm, while the latter are not, see Cody, A. Op. cit., p. 90.

45 It was suggested that the modal system of the Gregorian chant was directly connected with the Syriac system, see Husmann, H. and P. Jeffery. Syrian Church Music. *The New Grove of Music and Musicians*. 2nd ed. Ed. by S. Sadie. New York, 2001. Vol. 24, pp. 857–867; Jeffery, P. The Earliest Oktoechoi…, pp. 156–157.

46 It is worth noting that in the alleluiarion cycle (f. 110r-117v) included in Typografsky Ustav from the end of the eleventh – the beginning of the twelfth

century, the earliest Kontakarion of the five old Russian Kontakaria, the modes are in the following order: 1, 5, 2, 6, 4 and 8 (modes 3 and 7 are missing). This order reflects an early practice from Jerusalem. About Typografsky Ustav see *Типографский устав. Устав с кондакарем конца XI – начала XII века*. Под ред. на Б. А. Успенский, 3 тома. Москва, 2006.

47 Wright, W. Op. cit., pp. 288–289.

48 Ibidem, pp. 291–292.

49 Ibidem, pp. 351–352.

50 Ibidem.

51 Ibidem.

52 H. Husmann, as it was already pointed out, listed one more Syriac manuscript of the Tropologion type – Sinai Syriac 261. He called it “a Tropologion, respectively, a Sticherarion.” Husmann dated it from the last quarter of the thirteenth century, a time which goes beyond the objectives of this study. The manuscript is entirely notated in palaeobyzantine *Coislin* notation (there are only several *Chartres* signs). It is a full Sticherarion: containing Menaion, Triodion-Pentekostarion and Oktoechos. In the Oktoechos anabathmoi (graduals), eothina (Gospel stichera) and makarismoi (beatitudes) are included. The eothina are written down in two versions notated respectively in *Coislin* and in the middlebyzantine notation, see Husmann, H. Ein Syro-Melkitisches Tropologion…, S. IX–XI.

53 P. Jeffery believes that these services were designed for “the less important periods of liturgical time” throughout the year; they were compiled after the services for the major feast days (meaning those of the Menaion), see Jeffery, P. The Earliest Oktoechoi…, p. 207.

54 The feasts of the Theotokos were formed after those of the Lord: the Annunciation, as it was said, is among the earliest documented great feasts for the Blessed Virgin.

55 See Jacobsson, R. The Antiphoner of Compiegne. Paris, BNF lat. 17,436. In: *The Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages…*, 147–178 (p. 148).

56 See Crocker, R. Liturgical Material of Roman Chant. In: *The Early Middle Age…*, p. 119.

57 Of this order, the following manuscripts from the Catalogue of Wright are listed here in a chronological order: Add. 14,528, Add. 17,134, Add. 14,520, Add. 14,486, Add. 14,487, Add. 14,515, Add. 17,190, Add. 14,522, Add. 18,816, Add. 14,514, Add. 14,506, Vat. Syr. 94, Add. 14,714, Add. 17,140, Add. 17,273, Add. 17,138 and Add. 14,713.

58 There is a huge literature about Western liturgical books, see for instance: Dyer, J. Liturgy and Liturgical Books. *The New Grove Dictionary…*, vol. 15, 1–10. Especially about the Antiphonar, its transmission, contents, etc. see Генов, Я. *Антифонарът в Средновековието и съвременността: сравнително изследване. Цикълът Quadragesima*, Ph. D., Sofia, 2008.

59 Four other manuscripts from the Catalogue of Wright are like manuscript Add. 17,141: Add. 17,207, Add. 17,130, Add. 14,513 and Add. 14,523.

60 There are still two other manuscripts in the Catalogue of Wright like Add. 17,135 and Add. 14,507: Add. 14,698 and Add. 14,712. They are designated, respectively, as two parts of a Tropologion.

61 The cited manuscripts are in this order: Add. 14,504 and Add. 14,505, as well as another three: Add. 14,510, Add. 17,133 and Add. 14,508.

62 Let us remind that death in Christianity is seen as beginning in the life of Christ, which is why dates given for celebrating the memory of saints are those of their deaths.

63 The tradition of the Melkite church is the most byzantinized of the Syrian group, see Jeffery, P. The Earliest Oktoechoi…, p. 160.

64 See also Cody, A. Op. cit., p. 103.
65 Cody, A. Op. cit.; Jeffery, P. The Earliest Oktoechoi…, p. 207.
66 Cody, A. Op. cit., p. 102.
67 Hence, the claim of S. Frøyshov of the existence of a book of the Oktoechos in the sixth century is not testified, see Fróyshov, S. S. R. The Early Development…, p. 169.
68 R. Taft also calls the "Oktoechos of Severus" "Hymn Book" or "The Hymnal of Severus of Antioch." He defines it as a "Syriac version of Greek refrains" (called *maneyata* in Syriac), see Taft, R. The βηματικίον in the sixth/seventh century…, p. 690; idem. The Precomminion Rites…, pp. 278–281. It is worth noting that some of the early Western hymnographic books were called "Hymnals:" the "old Hymnal" was in manuscripts up to the ninth century and the "new" one from the same century onwards; it replaced the old Hymnal and entered the Roman worship, see Jeffery, P. Eastern and Western Elements in the Irish Monastic Prayer of the Hours. In: *The Divine Office*…, 99–147 (p. 128). If we try to connect the "Oktoechos of Severus" with the hypothetical theory of S. Frøyshov about the existence of an "old" *Iadgari*/Tropologion, a question is raised: is it possible that the "Oktoechos of Severus" – according to its archaic features – could be analogous to this "old" *Iadgari*/Tropologion, or its immediate predecessor?
69 P. Jeffery also expresses a similar idea of the use of the modal system: all cultures where this system was in use "may well preserve unique evidence, lost to the others, pointing to the time and place and human milieu in which the modes began," see Jeffery, P. The Earliest Oktoechoi…, pp. 151–152. Jeffery also believes that each culture developed this system independently, using its modal classifications in a specific way and reaching a specific result.
70 See Winkler, G. Anhang zur Untersuchung…, S. 206.

5 The Greek Tropologion

As it was said, the Georgian *Iadgari* is considered to be a translation of a Greek Tropologion, a book that did not come to us.[1] G. Winkler believes that the Armenian Šaraknoc also had a Greek Tropologion that was not preserved, as its prototype.[2] A Tropologion in Greek with a composition and structure like the *Iadgari* became known quite recently, according to two newly-found Sinai manuscripts from the end of the eighth and the beginning of the ninth century that were identified as belonging to the same book – ΜΓ 56 and ΜΓ 5 (see below).[3] All the other manuscripts in Greek with the designation "Tropologion," until about the thirteenth century, display parameters slightly different from those of the *Iadgari*. As a whole, they are not very well known: the question about the *Iadgari* as a supposed translation of an early Greek Tropologion prototype is more widely discussed. As it was said, the study of the early hymnographic books is still in its infancy, though interest in them is very great among scholars. Hence, the responsibility of how we discuss these manuscripts and how we interpret what they display is extremely important.

Like the *Iadgari*, the question of where the name of the Tropologion came from is discussed in the scientific literature. According to H. Husmann, G. Winkler, M. Momina and others, the name of the book came from the major genre included in it – the troparion. The Tropologion is a book with collected troparia.[4] In this sense, the name "Tropologion" could have come from the time when the troparia – as refrains performed to the psalms and the biblical odes according to some systematized characteristics – were the major and the most widely spread chanted genre in liturgical music. This time could have been before the seventh century, that is, before the appearance of the other two basic chant forms: the kanon and the sticheron, which quickly gained popularity and entered the same book. In that early time, there might indeed have been a book of the Tropologion that was the basis for, or the prototype of, the Georgian *Iadgari*, the Armenian Šaraknoc and the Syriac Tropligin – either contemporary to them or their immediate predecessor. Hence, the Tropologion was a book that provided knowledge of the basic genre included in it – the troparion. An analogy here could be made with the notated musical books of the Eastern church that were compiled

later: the Heirmologion and the Sticherarion, the books with the collected heirmoi and stichera that provided knowledge about them (troparia were included in the Sticheraria, as well). The translation of the meaning of the word *Iadgari* as a memory (see Chapter 3) does not exclude the word knowledge as an interpretation of the name of the Tropologion: memory and knowledge are very close in meaning and could have been interchangeable in the context they are discussing.

Eleven manuscripts in Greek are found with initial rubrics saying that the book is a Tropologion. In addition, inscriptions are left in two other manuscripts announcing that the book is a Tropologion. To these thirteen manuscripts, five more that are defined as Tropologia by scholars should be added. Hence, there are eighteen manuscripts in Greek, for now, that will be discussed here. Fifteen of them are kept at the library of the Sinai monastery "St. Catherine."[5] The remaining three are from other libraries. All manuscripts from the end of the eighth or the beginning of the ninth century through the thirteenth century were written on parchment.

The basic questions studied are related to the three chosen parameters that could reveal for us the composition and the structure of the book. As stated earlier, the textological study of manuscripts is not a task of this work – it supposes special philological research. The Sinai manuscripts are studied on their microfilms that are kept at the Library of Congress and listed in the Checklist of K. Clark.[6] The Sinai manuscripts discovered in 1975 are discussed according to the information found in publications about them. Detailed study of these manuscripts is extremely necessary.

The designations in Greek are transliterated in Latin.[7] The manuscripts are discussed below in chronological order by centuries.

I. Eighth–ninth centuries

1. (1) **MΓ 5**[8] – 240 folia: the manuscript is defined as a Tropologion in the Checklist of the newly-found Greek Sinai manuscripts in 1975.[9] It contains services for the immovable and movable feasts for the entire year. There are lacunas in the beginning. S. Frøyshov identified the beginning of this manuscript in the fragment MΓ 56. The initial rubric in the latter is preserved, saying that it is a Tropologion (see about this manuscript below).[10] Frøyshov dates both manuscripts from the eighth to ninth centuries. He considers them an example of the "new" Tropologion. The two manuscripts, MΓ 56–5, are described in detail by A. Nikiforova. She dated them from a slightly later time – the ninth century.[11]

MΓ 5 contains services according to the Menaion and the Triodion cycles. The manuscript starts with the end of the stichera on *Kyrie ekekraxa* for the Forfeast of the Nativity of Christ and ends with June 12 with the service for the memory of St. Joseph of Arimathea.[12] The movable cycle was inserted between February 2, the Hypapante, and April 23, St. George. It starts with Meatfare Sunday, followed by the six Sundays of Lent, Easter, the Sunday of

St. Thomas and the Sunday of myrrh-bearing women. A. Nikiforova points out that the calendar is of a Palestinian type, there are memories celebrated specifically in Jerusalem and Egypt: John of Damascus, Kosmas, Andrew and Cyril of Alexandria.[13] She also stresses that the commemorations of the individual saints were increased at the expense of those for the common services, and this is one of the basic differences between manuscripts designated as Tropologion in Greek and the *Iadgari* in Georgian.[14]

Comment. The manuscript is the earliest Tropologion in Greek. It was arranged like the *Iadgari*. In comparison with the latter, however, both the eight mode successions and the genres of death (nekrosima/anapavsima) and of hypokoe are reduced. The early cycle is arranged in the old, uninterrupted liturgical calendar order.[15] This probably gave A. Nikiforova reason to determine the manuscript as a basis for the formation of the modern Menaion and Triodion.[16]

2. (2) **P. Khirbet Mird P.A.M. 1–2** – fragments of a manuscript kept at the library of the monastery Kastellion Khirbet Mird that was considered to be a daughter monastery of the Palestinian "St. Sabas."[17] The fragments are dated to the very beginning of the ninth century, about 800. An initial rubric is preserved that reads: Τροπολόγιον σὺν Θεῶ κατὰ τὸν κανόνα Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀναστάεως ("Tropologion with the Holy God according to the order [of the church of the Resurrection] of Jesus Christ").

Comment. This is the second Tropologion in Greek. Unfortunately, I do not have information about the fragments – how large they are and what they contain.

II. Ninth century

1. (3) **ΜΓ 56** – fragment of a manuscript, 5 folia. The initial rubric reads: Σὺν Θ[ε]ῷ τροπολόγιον πασῶν τῶν ἁγίων ἑορτῶν παντὸς τοῦ ἔτους κατὰ τὸν κανόνα τῆς Χ[ριστ]οῦ τοῦ Θ[εο]ῦ ἡμῶν ἀναστάσεως ("With God the Tropologion of all the holy feasts during the entire year according to the order of [church of] the Resurrection of Christ Our Lord").[18] According to R. Krivko, the manuscript was written in the ninth century for the cathedral "St. Sepulchre" in Jerusalem – an opinion that is also expressed by S. Parenti and E. Velkovska.[19] The fragment, as mentioned above, was identified as the beginning of the manuscript ΜΓ 5 by S. Frøyshov. If it is so, the manuscript should be dated a little bit earlier – to the eighth through ninth centuries; this date was accepted for the manuscript ΜΓ 5.

Comment. The fragment is a Tropologion of the **Menaion type** starting with the services for the Forfeast of the Nativity of Christ.[20] Its rubric is almost identical to that of of the former manuscript, P. Khirbet Mird P.A.M. 1–2. These manuscripts, along with ΜΓ 5, are representative of worship in the biggest cathedral in Jerusalem, "St. Anastasis"/"St. Sepulchre."

2. (4) **Sinai 607** – 240 folia, 22, 4 × 17, 4. K. Clark designated the book as a Menaion.[21] Its initial rubric, written in an embellished plaited decoration,

however, clearly defined it as a Tropologion (f. 3r): Τροπολ[όγιον] σὺν θ[ε]ῷ μηνῶν δύων μαρτίου καὶ ἀπριλλίου ("Tropologion with God [for] two months March and April"). Before that, on folia 1r-2r, a table was included with dates for every single day of the two months with the memories of the saints starting on March 1. March and April are separated by a large rubric indicating each of them. The manuscript contains kathismata, stichera (the prosomoia stichera prevail) and kanons. The kanons are for each day with one for each memory. Most of them are attributed to Joseph and Theophanos. There are also kanons by John, Andrew the archbishop of Crete, Germanos, Steven, George and Clement. The kanons by John and Andrew are for the greatest feasts – the Forty Martyrs on March 9, the Annunciation on March 25 and St. George on April 23. A cycle of stichera for March 9 is attributed to John. For the first time, a second kanon for the day is included on March 25. It is attributed to Andrew. The names of the authors are written in the margins. The name Joseph can be found in many acrostics in the ninth odes of the kanons. For some great feasts, like the Annunciation, *idiomela* stichera are included, as well. There are beatitudes before the kanon for the same feast. After the eighth ode in some kanons, the text reads "hypakoe."

Comment. The manuscript is a Tropologion of the **Menaion type** for two months: March and April. It is the earliest known Tropologion of the type of the manuscript later designated as a Menaion. It could be defined also as a **Menaion Tropologion**.[22] The names of the authors from the Studite school, along with some from the Sabaite one, suggest that the manuscript was compiled or revised by the Studites, respectively in the school of the Studite monastery. Most of the kanons are attributed to Joseph. His name is linked with active work on both the Menaion and the compilation of the "Great Oktoechos" (the Parakletike).[23] Sinai 607 witnesses that a book of the type of the Tropologion was in use in the Studite monastery during the ninth century and, more precisely, in its last quarter when Joseph's work gained wide popularity. The presence of a calendar of saints' days for each day of the two months suggests that one of the tasks of the Studite monks in their work was to both sanctify each day of the liturgical year, according to the celebrations established at the time in Constantinople and/or in its region, and to create works for the newly compiled services.

A. Nikiforova devotes a special investigation to this manuscript.[24] Along with many valuable and important observations, and detailed descriptions of the manuscript's calendar, its structure and composition, the genres and authors included, orthographic features, etc., she comes to conclusions that raise questions. I shall discuss some of these that are related to this study.

Nikiforova determines the manuscript as an office Menaion and specifies that it is the earliest full office Menaion. According to her, it was compiled in Constantinople in the ninth century and this was the time when the office Menaion appeared. It was separated from the Tropologion as an independent liturgical book, along with the Triodion and the Oktoechos. Nikiforova

believes that the manuscript Sinai ΜΓ 28 (see about it below) also belongs to the type of the office Menaion. This manuscript contains services for the first three days of May. The two manuscripts, Sinai 607 and ΜΓ 28, represent one set of Menaia for March, April and May. In the following centuries up to the twelfth, as Nikiforova stresses, the Menaion continued to be called and designated Tropologion "by inertia," although it already represented a different type of book. Among the basic differences that Nikiforova points out between the two books – the Tropologion and the office Menaion – is, first, that services for every single day of the month are included in the latter, and that second, unlike the Tropologion, the office Menaion was oriented to the Constantinopolitan calendar, not to the Palestinian one. The office Menaion was created by hymnographers of the ninth century – Joseph the Hymnographer, Theophanos Graptos and George of Nicomedia. Hence, the general conclusions of Nikiforova are, first, Robert Taft's claim that the office Menaion was formed in the eleventh–twelfth centuries should be corrected – this type of Menaion was formed two centuries earlier – in the ninth–tenth centuries;[25] and second, the claim that the festal Menaion was formed earlier than the office Menaion should be also corrected: according to Nikiforova, the office Menaion was first formed for each day of the twelve months of the year and only later was the festal Menaion formed on the basis of the already established office Menaion.[26]

It is difficult to accept the conclusions of the Russian scholar after considering several facts.

First, a book designated as a "Menaion" in its initial rubric was not known until the twelfth century[27] (I have in mind the Sinai manuscripts according to the Checklist of K. Clark); that is, the Menaion had not been perceived as a specialized liturgical independent/individual book. The designation "Menaion" appears later and, according to this designation, we know the book as such, and the designation "Menaion" was given by later writers and compilers. The Menaion section is the first one in the contents of the Tropologion/*Iadgari* and it is also the largest. During the ninth century, this section was revised and actualized by the Studites. It did not begin its "life" from them: as we shall see, the Studites developed and expanded it on the basis of what was transmitted by the Sabaites without aiming to compile a new type of individual liturgical book. The three hymnographers providing new items for the Menaion section of the Tropologion, Joseph, Theophanos and George, hardly thought that they had created a new type of a book. The Menaion section was separated from the Tropologion because of its increased size. Even then, however, this part continued to be thought of as a Tropologion, and the initial rubrics of the preserved copies confirm this. The separated section of the Menaion from the Tropologion had not been thought or perceived as a new liturgical book in the beginning of its existence. If it had, it would have been referred to as "Menaion" by its writers/compilers. But it was not, due to the fact that they themselves did not think that they had created a new type of individual liturgical book.

A similar position is defended by S. Frøyshov who, considering some Oktoechoi from the tenth century onwards with the designation "Tropologion" (among them are the Sinai manuscripts 777, 784 and 789 – see below), states on the basis of their designation that "Oktoechos was considered part of the Tropologion material even at a later time, when this one hymnal (S.K. – he has in mind the Tropologion) was divided into several. We may deduce from this that the Oktoechos of the Ancient *Iadgari* belonged to the original Jerusalem hymnal one."[28]

Second, if the manuscript Sinai 607 is representative of the book of the Menaion, which manuscripts are representative of the books of the Triodion and the Oktoechos from the ninth century which Nikiforova also claims were separated at that time from the Tropologion? And does this mean that the Triodion and the Oktoechos were compiled as individual liturgical books in the ninth century as well? If the three major sections of the Tropologion were separated from the main corpus of the book, what did remain in the content of the Tropologion that continued to be transmitted and called Tropologion after the ninth century? Or, finally, did the separate books – the Menaion, the Triodion and the Oktoechos – only "by inertia" continue to be called Tropologia?

Third, the full set of Menaia with services for each day of the twelve months of the year was formed by the eleventh–twelfth centuries, and R. Taft was absolutely right in this respect.[29] Until then, the manuscripts of the Menaion type were designated as "Tropologia" (at least in regard to the Sinai collection). If we refer to them in a different way than the designation that was given by their contemporaries, this would be due to our later knowledge about them that does not correspond to the knowledge and, respectively, to the perception of these books as such by their contemporaries. They would not be recognized with the differentiated designation because it was not yet known at that time. The Menaion section of the Tropologion that was compiled as a separate book in the ninth–tenth centuries was not called Menaion yet, and **was not perceived as a different liturgical book** from the Tropologion that was known at that time. That is why it was not necessary for the title of the book to be changed. The same case is with the designation of the Sticherarion, the book that is closest to the Tropologion regarding its structure. The Sticherarion could be full, that is, compiled of the Menaion, Triodion and the Oktoechos, but also it could be the Menaion Sticherarion, compiled of the Menaion only, or the Trioiodion Sticherarion, compiled, respectively, of the Triodion.

Fourth, there is no way the "old" Tropologion could have been oriented towards the calendar of Constantinople until the ninth century, as the calendar had not yet been established: it was compiled during the ninth century when the Synaxarion of Constantinople had originated. The changed Menaion section of the Tropologion was perceived as a different one in a typological aspect later – only by the end of the eleventh and the beginning of the twelfth century, when the twelve volumes of the Menaion were

compiled, systematized and entered the liturgical practice as a full set. If something was not then realized as new, in our case as a new type of a book, how it could be designated with another name?

Fifth, the designation "Tropologion" could not be used for different types of books, as A. Nikiforova and R. Krivko claim,[30] because this designation was coined for a determined type of book which its contemporaries knew very well and used in the liturgical practice at the time. It is true that this book has changed over time. In the history of liturgical books, at least of the musical ones, there has not been a single example when a designation given to a certain liturgical book was also used for another beforehand, was comprehended as such and entered the liturgical practice. There is nothing "frozen" in the history of worship: everything changes, and we cannot find even two identical manuscripts, especially from the early time, which is the focus of this study.

And sixth, the investigation of the sources shows that the office Menaion was not formed first, but the festal Menaion was. The menaion part in all the sources discussed up to here (see Chapters 2–4) proves this.[31] The menaion part of the *Iadgari*/Tropologion was gradually complemented and expanded with services for new saints, new genres, new chants, etc., and this was the reason for its separation from these books.

In other words, A. Nikiforova's conclusions on the questions posed above are disputable, first of all within a methodological framework – if we place the issues into the broader context of comparative studies, and the genealogical synchronic and diachronic plan, as we attempt to do here, the picture would look quite different. Besides, if we take only one manuscript and consider it from the perspective of our modern knowledge, we could predetermine the subjective and absolutized conclusions. The Tropologion was split into separate parts, and within the time of the tenth and twelfth centuries, new types of liturgical books gradually emerged – the Menaion, the Triod-Pentkostarion and the Oktoechos. After the twelfth century, we find most of the repertory of the Tropologion in these books. At the same time, it is true that books intended for the same worship (for instance, for the movable feasts or for the feasts of the weekdays) are designated with different names like Tropologion (Sinai 759, Vat. gr. 771 from the eleventh century – see about these manuscripts below) and Triodion (Sinai 734–735 from the tenth century, 736 from 1028); or Tropologion (Sinai 784 from the twelfth century) and Oktoechos (Sinai 795 from the twelfth century). That is why the books should be referred to according to the designation of their writers/compilers because they were perceived by them in that way. Having in mind the whole context of a given book's emergence, we could understand how, when and where the old tradition was still alive; how, when and where it had already begun to change; and in what direction this change was made.

3. (5) **МΓ 28** – a fragment of manuscript, 8 folia. The initial rubric reads: Τροπολ[όγιον] σὺν θ[ε]ῷ μηνῶν δύων Μαΐου καὶ Ἰουνίου ("Tropologion with Holy God [for] two months May and June").[32]

Comment. A fragment of the Tropologion of the **Menaion type** for two months: May and June. Only the first three days of May are preserved.[33] It is commented that the handwriting of this fragment is identical to that of manuscript Sinai 607, and also that it is connected with the Studite school because a kanon attributed to Joseph is included in it.[34]

III. Ninth–tenth centuries

1. (6) **MΓ 4 –** 94 folia. The manuscript contains kanons for the feast days from July 3 to August 29. It is determined as a Tropologion in the Catalogue of the Sinai Greek manuscripts discovered in 1975.[35]

Comment. A Tropologion of the **Menaion type** for two months: July and August.[36] It documents a further elaboration of the Menaion section of the Tropologion.

IV. Eleventh century

1. (7) **Sinai 556** – 269 folia, 24, 6 × 19, 6. K. Clark designates it as a Menaion for September and October. M. Momina considers it to be a Tropologion, but from the tenth century.[37] The initial rubric with a text in Arabic above reads: Τροπολόγιον σὺν Θ[ε]ῷ μὴνος σεπτεμβρίου· μηνὶ σεπτεμβρίῳ α´ ἐις τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς Ἰνδίκτου καὶ ἐις τὸν ὁσίον πατρὸν ἡμῶ[ν] Συμεὼν τὸν Στυλίτην ("Tropologion with the Holy God, month September. September 1. Beginning of the Indiction and of our patron Simeon the Stylist"). The manuscript contains chants for the services for two months. For each day, kathismata, stichera and kanons are included. Most of the kanons are attributed to Joseph and Theophanos. Kanons by John the Monk, Kosmas, Theodore and Anastasios are included for great feasts and for saints of the highest rank, such as the great martyrs (Chariton and Sergios), apostles and evangelists (Thomas, Luke). Many kanons have a second ode. The services for greater feasts like September 1, 8 and 14, start with **katabasia** on *Θεὸς Κύριος* (*Lord is God*); two kinds of stichera are included for these feasts – prosomoia and idiomela. Also, there are **kontakion and oikos** after the kathismata. For the Nativity of the Theotokos on September 8, **beatitudes** are written before the kanon. An **exaposteilarion** is included after the ninth ode of the kanon by Theophanos for St. Demetrios on October 26. The manuscript ends with the services for October 31.

Comment. A Tropologion of the **Menaion type** for two months: September and October. In all probability, it was compiled or revised by the Studites. This is the first manuscript of those discussed up to here which documents September 1 to be the beginning of the church year, rather than December 25. For the first time, katabasia, kontakion, oikos and exaposteilarion also are included here. The latter was placed in its real liturgical place – after the ninth ode of the kanon (as it is known, the exaposteilaria are performed after the kanon).

2. (8) **Sinai 579** – 129 folia, 25, 8 × 19. K. Clark determines this manuscript as a Menaion for September. Its initial rubric, written in a beautiful plaited decoration, however, explicitly names the book "Tropologion" (f. 1r): Τροπολόγιον σὺν Θ[ε]ῷ περιέχ[ων] τὰ στιχ[ηρὰ] καὶ καθ[ίσματα] καὶ κανὸν τῶν δεσποτικῶν ἑορτῶ[ν] καὶ τῶν … μερινῶν ἁγίων. ("Tropologion with the Holy God containing stichera, kathismata and kanon for the feasts of Lord… and for some saints".) The manuscript contains the services for weekdays in September. Kathismata, stichera and kanons are given for each day. The three genres follow this order, despite the indication for the stichera as first in the initial rubric. The manuscript ends with the service for September 30. The kanons are attributed to John, Andrew, Kosmas, George, Germanos, Joseph and Theophanos.

Comment. A Tropologion of the Menaion type for one month: September.

3. (9) **Sinai 759** – 195 folia, 24, 7 × 19, 3. K. Clark determines the manuscript as a Tropologion. M. Momina considers it a Tropologion but dates it a little bit earlier – from the tenth century.[38] The manuscript starts with Palm Sunday and ends with the Sunday of All Saints: Τροπολόγιον σὺ[ν] Θ[ε]ῷ ἀρχωμένον ἀπὸ τῶν βαΐων [μέχρι] τῶν ἁγίων πάντων.[39] The services follow the liturgical order of the Triodion by both weeks and days. The following chants are included: kathismata at *Lord is God*, kontakion, oikos, stichera ἰδιόμελα at *Kyrie ekekraxa* and προσόμοια, as well as kanons by various authors (most are by Joseph). For Sundays of great feasts like Palm Sunday, the days of Holy Week, Easter and Pentekost, kanons by Kosmas the Monk and Andrew of Crete are included. Most of them have a second ode. For the days after Easter the kanons are by Joseph and Theophanos, and rarely by George.[40] On f. 48v "exaposteilarion" is written in the upper margin, next to the final, ninth ode of the kanon for Great Thursday before Easter (τῇ ε´ τῆς σ´ εὐδομάδος). This indicated the real liturgical place of the exaposteilarion. More chants are given for Sundays; only kanons are written for most of the days after Easter; stichera and kanons are written more rarely; the chant repertory for the weekdays is very limited.

Comment. The manuscript is a Tropologion of the **Triodion-Pentekostarion type** or **Triodion Tropologion**. Of the Triodion, only the sixth Sunday of Lent is included.[41] Some distinction is made between the first six weeks of Lent and the following one, Holy Week.[42] This is the earliest known Tropologion of the later-designated Triodion-Pentekostarion type. In all probability, it was compiled or revised by the Studites. Joseph wrote kanons for the weekdays in Lent – for Monday, Thursday, etc. Most of them are for the period after Easter (they were included in the Pentekostarion). The manuscript documents exaposteilarion, kontakion and oikos written down in the Tropologion of the Triodion type.[43]

4. (10) **Sinai 777** – 160 folia, 22 × 19, 8. K. Clark determines the manuscript as a Tropologion. The initial rubric written in the plaited decoration with an Arabic text above which reads: Τροπολογίον σὺν Θ[ε]ῷ περιέχων κανῶν παρακλητικοὺς, ασωματικοὺς, κατανυκτικοὺς, στ[αυ]ρωσημοὺς,

ἀποστολικοὺς, ἀναπαυσιμοὺς καὶ τῆς Θ[εοτό]κου ("Tropologion with the Holy God containing kanon paraklitikon, asomatikon, katanuktikon, stavrosimon, apostolikon, anapavsimon and theotokion"). The manuscript contains kanons only. The order of them in mode 1 is the following:

[Monday] τῇ β′ – for Sts. Asomaton; the kanon in mode 2 is designated as "work" of Theophanos the Monk.
[Tuesday] τῇ γ′ – for repentance by Joseph with an acrostic in the ninth ode; the acrostic starts in the theotokion of the eighth ode where the initial letter I [from ΙΩCΗΦ] is written.
[Wednesday] τῇ δ′ – for the Holy Cross by Joseph with an acrostic in the ninth ode of the kanon that was written in the same way as the previous one; there is a second kanon "for the same day" (τῇ αὐτῃ ἡμέρᾳ") for the Blessed Virgin (in mode 2 it is attributed to John the Monk).
[Thursday] τῇ ε′ – for the Holy Apostles.
[Friday] τῇ παρασκευῇ – for the Holy Cross by Joseph (there is a second ode); one more kanon "for the same feast" for the Blessed Virgin (there is a designation in mode 1: ἀλφάβητον).
[Saturday] τῷ σαββάτῳ[44] – for deceased (the designation is *koimitentes*).

Many kanons have an acrostic in the ninth ode with the attribution ΙΩCΗΦ.

Comment. The manuscript contains kanons only for the weekdays from Monday morning through Saturday morning in the eight modes. The kanons are in the same order in each mode. Last troparia of each ode are designated as "theotokion." The end of the manuscript is missing. Last item is with the ninth ode of the kanon in mode plagal 4 for the Theotokos on Friday. The manuscript is the earliest known Tropologion of the type of book later designated by some scholars as "Paraklitike" (the great Oktoechos): it contains kanons for the weekdays. There are two kanons for Wednesday and Friday – for the Holy Cross and for the Theotokos. The second one of them is attributed to John the Monk in mode 2. This testifies that during the Sabaitic epoch to which the creativity of John the Monk (or John of Damascus) belongs, kanons for Wednesday, a weekday determined for the celebration of the Blessed Virgin and the Holy Cross, were already written.[45] The numerous kanons by Joseph show that the manuscript was compiled or revised by the Studites.[46]

5. (11) **M 191** – a fragment of manuscript of 16 folia. It contains services for September, November and May. The fragment was defined as a Tropologion in the description of the Greek Sinai manuscripts discovered in 1975, but the type of book was left in question.[47]

Comment. A fragment of the Tropologion (?) of the Menaion type for three months: September, November and May.

6. (12) **Vaticanus graecus 771**[48] – eleventh century,[49] 298 folia, 247 × 173.[50] The manuscript was written by one of the abbots of the Grottaferrata monastery near Rome, Nilus the Second (died 1135), and in al probability

in the very Grottaferrata monastery: it displays palaeographical characteristics that are determined as typical for the scriptorium there.[51] Two preserved inscriptions call the manuscript "Tropologion."[52] They were definitely written by Nilus. The first one is on f. 118v and refers to the Great kanon of Andrew of Crete: Ζήτ[ει] εἰς τὴν ἀρχ[ὴν] τοῦ τροπολ[ογίου] ("Look for it at the beginning of the Tropologion"); the second one is on f. 288v and refers to a photagogikon: Ζήτ[ει] τὸ φωτ[αγωγικὸν] εἰς τὸ τέλ[ος] τοῦ τροπολ[ογίου] ("Look for the photagogikon at the end of the Tropologion"). The beginning of the manuscript is missing and we do not know how it was named in its initial rubric, but based on the above cited inscriptions of the writer we could suggest that it was designated there as a Tropologion, as well. The repertory included is of the Triodion-Pentekostarion type with notated stichera idiomela in *theta* notation placed at the beginning of the manuscript.

As it was said, the beginning of the manuscript is missing. The first preserved rubric is in the upper part of folio 1r. The rubric reads that the chant is a sticheron in mode plagal 4 for Sunday Vespers. We identified the service with the third week of Lent. Monday morning (the fourth week) follows on the same folio, then Monday Vespers and so on until Wednesday morning (τῇ δ′ πρωΐ). The *theta* signs are put on the last syllables of the final words of the phrases.

The content of the manuscript is the following:

1r – stichera for the third Sunday Vespers (τῇ Κυριακῇ γ′ ἑσπέρας) of Lent and the consequence of the weekdays of the fourth week for the Orthros and Vespers plus "other" (ἄλλος) stichera: from Monday Orthros through Wednesday Orthros: the Orthros and Vespers are indicated. The fourth week is designated as μέσος (middle, regarding Easter).

1v – stichera for the True Cross by Leo VI the Wise: the name is written in the left margin: Λέοντ[ος] δεσπότ[ου];[53] the stichera are for Wednesday – stichera stavrosima (σταυρώσιμα) are designed for this day in the Oktoechos.[54]

2r-v – stichera from Thursday Vespers to Friday Vespers, also with the indications for Orthros and Vespers.

2v – a large rubric for the fourth Sunday of Lent followed by the weekdays from Sunday through Friday: τῇ Κυριακῇ δ′ τῶν νηστείων; stichera for the Orthros and Vespers.

3v – stichera for the fifth Sunday of Lent and the weekdays of the sixth week: τῇ Κυριακῇ ε′ τῶν νηστείων, and so on, up to and including Friday Vespers.

5r – stichera for Lazarus Saturday.

5v – the sixth Sunday, Palm Sunday. The last sticheron for the latter feast is in mode plagal 4 and is attributed to John the Monk (f. 7v).

7v – Holy week; there are no designations for the Orthros and Vespers. The designations that are read are: Holy Monday (τῇ β′), Tuesday (τῇ γ′), Wednesday (τῇ δ′), Thursday (τῇ ε′) and Friday (τῇ παρασκευῇ) (f. 8r). The last but one sticheron in mode plagal 2 on f. 8r is ascribed to Sergios (Σεργίου). The first part of the manuscript ends with this sticheron.

All the stichera up to here are notated in *theta* notation. The sign *theta* is seen at the end of the phrases. It is written with double *varia*, placed on both sides – the left and the right (*θ*, *θ*\\). The sign could also be interpreted as a *piasma*.

8v – a new large rubric for Sunday of the Prodigal Son (the ink here is darker) with the indication that it is before Meatfare Sunday: τῇ Κυριακῇ [π]ρὸ τῆς ἀπόκρεου τοῦ ἀσώτου. It starts with a kanon attributed to Joseph. The kanon has a second ode; in the ninth ode, an acrostic is read with the name of Joseph; there is a kathismata after the ninth ode; the sheet is torn after that.

11r – a large plaited decoration and a new rubric indicating the Quadragesima from Meatfare Saturday to Sunday of All Saints: Τριῴδιον σὺν Θεῷ τῆς ἁγίας τεσσαρακοστῆς. Ἀρχόμενον ἀπὸ τοῦ σαββάτου τῆς ἀπόκρεου μέχρι τῆς τῶν Ἁγίων πάντων κυριακῆς. Τῷ σαββάτῳ τῆς ἀπόκρεου μνήμη πάντων τῶν κεκοιμημένων χριστιανῶν. This part starts with **kanons** by Theodore, who is named "unworthy Theodore" (ἀναξίου Θεοδώ ρου). There is nothing included after the third, sixth and ninth odes. Each ode ends with a triadikon and theotokion. Five **stichera prosomoia** (προσόμοια) follow the kanon; **another kanon** with the second ode for Meatfare Sunday (ἀπόκρεῳ) is written after the kanon, attributed again to Theodore the Studite. It is followed by **stichera**: four prosomoia and three idiomela designated as "other." The latter are followed by "another" kanon for the same Meatfare Sunday attributed to Joseph with his name read in the acrostic in the ninth ode.

20v – a new large rubric indicating triodia kanons for the Preparatory week: προκαθάρσιμα Τριῴδια τ[οῦ] ἑβδομάδ[ος]. There is an indication that Monday is after Meatfare Sunday (τῇ β′ μετὰ τῷ ἀπόκρεῳ); a triodion kanon composed of first, eighth and ninth odes is written down; the days from Tuesday on belong to Cheesefare week (τυροφάγου); the service for Tuesday is written in the same way (τῇ γ′ τῆς τυροφάγου): the kanon starts with the ninth ode; Wednesday (τῇ δ′) follows and so on up to Saturday. There are a sticheron prosomoion and a kathisma after each kanon.

25r – kanon for Saturday for the holy ascetics, women, hierarchs and protomartyrs, attributed to Theodore. There are kathismata and stichera prosomoia after the ninth ode of the kanon; kanon for Sunday after the Cheesefare week; and two stichera idiomela are written down after the ninth ode.

32v – a new large rubric for triodia of the Quadragesima, attributed to Joseph, Clement and Theodore [the Studite]: Τριῴδια σὺν Θεῷ τῆς ἁγι ας τεσσαρακοστῆς τέσσαρα. Δύο τοῦ ὁσίοὺ Ιωσήφ, καὶ ἐν τοῦ μακαρίου Κλήμεντος καὶ ἕτερον τοῦ μεγάλου Θεοδώρου ("…two by the pious Joseph, [one] by the beatific Clement and the other [kanon] by the great Theodore"). The order of the chants in this part is: **kathismata, stichera and kanon**.[55] Somewhere there is an indication for both the hypakoe after the kathismata and the photagogikon after the ninth ode of the kanon. The kanons are triodia and full for the days of the first week of Lent from

Monday through Saturday, and are combined as indicated in the rubric: two by Joseph, one by Clement and one by Theodore. The names of the authors are written in the margins. The kathismata and the stichera are attributed to Studite. **Kathismata, stichera and combined triodia kanons** by Joseph, Clement and Studite are written for each day. There is an indication that the memory of St. Theodore Tyron is celebrated on the Saturday of the first week of Lent.

49v – first Sunday of Lent called "Orthodox": τῇ Κυριακῇ α′ ὀρθοδ[οξίας]. The kanon included is anonymous. Sundays are separated by a larger rubric, and only kanons are written for them. The weekdays are also separated by a smaller ornament.

66v – second Sunday of Lent (τῇ Κυριακῇ β′) with the kanon *Δέξαι με Σωτὴρ* in mode plagal 2 by Joseph (his name is read both in the beginning of the kanon and in the acrostic of the ninth ode).[56] The services for week-days of the third week are followed (τῇ γ′ ἑβδομάδι) from **Monday through Saturday with kathismata, stichera and combined triodia kanons** by Joseph, Clement and Studite. The kathismata and stichera are attributed to Studite. The kanon for Saturday is designated for the deceased (ἀναπ[αύσιμα]).

81v – third Sunday of Lent (τῇ Κυριακῇ γ′) with full kanon by Studite. The kathismata after the triodia kanons for the weekdays are attributed to Studite.

85r – a large rubric for Monday of the "middle" (fourth) week (μέσης ἑβδόμαδος); the days of the fourth week follow with kathismata, stichera and triodia kanons.

102r – fourth Sunday of Lent: τῃ Κυριακῇ δ′ τῶν νηστείων with an anonymous kanon. The services for the days of the fifth week, starting on Monday, follow (f. 104r): τῇ β′ τῆς πέμπτης ἑβδόμαδος. The kanon for the Saturday of the fifth week is for the Theotokos. It is attributed to Joseph. His name is in the acrostic of the ninth ode. There is also a second kanon – a triodion combined by Joseph and Studite for the deceased.

118v – a Great kanon (μέγας κανών) in mode plagal 2, *Πόθεν ἄρξομαι*, is indicated for the fifth Sunday by Andrew of Crete (there is only an indication – the kanon itself is not written). In this place is the first inscription of Nilus, the copyist of the manuscript, namely that the kanon should be looked for "at the beginning of the Tropologion."[57]

119r – the days of the sixth week follow: τῇ στ′ ἑβδομάδι. The kanon for the Saturday of this week, Lazarus Saturday, is combined (f. 132v). The first to fifth odes are attributed as "work" to Theophanos, while the sixth to ninth odes are attributed to Kosmas the Monk. "Another" (ἕτερος) kanon for the reverend Lazarus, a work by John the Monk, follows; after it (from f. 134v) one more kanon by Andrew of Crete is included. It is a double kanon with two heirmoi in each ode, and it has a second ode. After the ninth ode, the performance of the photagogikon (φωτ[αγωγικόν]) is indicated.

138v – the sixth, Palm Sunday (τῇ Κυριακῇ τῶν βαΐων). Written for the service are: three kathismata at *Θεὸς Κύριος*; hypakoe; four idiomela

stichera; five prosomoia; other four idiomela; six alphabetika; kanon by Kosmas the Monk; and "another" kanon by Andrew for the same feast, also with both a second ode and photagogikon after the ninth ode.

164a – a large rubric for Holy Week. The services include kathismata, stichera and combined kanons. The authors of the kanons are the following: Great Monday – Kosmas the Monk, Joseph, Andrew and Studite; Great Tuesday – Joseph, Andrew, Studite and Kosmas; Great Wednesday – Joseph, Kosmas, Andrew and Studite; Great Thursday – Kosmas, Andrew and Studite; Great Friday – Kosmas, Andrew and Studite; Great Saturday – Marko the Monk (first to fifth odes), Kosmas the Monk and Andrew (sixth to ninth odes). Above the painted decorated line of the last service, the Great Saturday, is written: "work by Tarasios patriarch" (ποιήμα Ταρασίου πατριάρχου). I. Karabinov identifies this piece as a troparion for the prophecies.[58] In the acrostics of the ninth odes of the kanons for Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday the name of Joseph is read. That means that Joseph was probably their compiler. The services for Good Friday are traditionally elaborated, and here they are presented in great detail.

192v – Easter. The first kanon is by John the Monk. It is followed by another one by Andrew with the second ode; after it follows a kanon in mode 1 by someone Michael called "unworthy" (f. 197r): "Ετερος κανὼν εἰς τὸν ἁγίον πάσχ … Μιχαὴλ ἀναξ[ίου]"; the heirmos is: *Σοῦ ἡ τροπαιούχος δεξία*; the incipit of the first ode is: *Σὴμερον ἀγγέλων στρατίαι*. The kanon is followed by stichera for Easter both the Orthros (πρωΐ) and the Vespers (λυχνικὸν).

201r – the services for the days of the Bright week from Monday through Saturday. The combined kanons are by Joseph and Studite. For the first week, a kanon by George (f. 223r) is included after these kanons.

229r – the New Sunday (τῇ νέα Κυριακῇ) with three kanons by John the Monk, George and Andrew.[59] This Sunday is counted as the first after Easter.

234r – triodia kanons for the days of the second week after Easter, attributed to Joseph and Theodore the Studite. The kanon for the Saturday of the same week is by Theodore.

239v – the Second Sunday after Easter is designated for myrrh-bearing women. The kanon for this Sunday is attributed to Andrew of Crete. The kanons for the weekdays of the third week are attributed again to Joseph and Studite.

249v – the kanon for the third Sunday after Easter is attributed to Joseph: his name is written in the acrostic of the ninth ode; the kanons for weekdays of the fourth week are by Joseph and Theodore the Studite; the kanon for Wednesday is by Theophanos; this Wednesday is also called "middle" (μεσοπεντηκοσ[τῆς]) as it is between Easter and Pentekost; there is another kanon for the same day by Andrew;[60] the kanons for Thursday and Friday are again by Joseph and Studite; the kanon for Saturday is for the deceased, by Studite.

262v – for the fourth Sunday (“middle”) is included a kanon by Joseph with his name in the acrostic in the ninth ode and a photagogikon after it; for the weekdays of the fifth week, the kanons are again by Joseph and Studite; the kanon for Saturday is for the deceased, by Studite.

271v – the fifth Sunday – Sunday before the Ascension. The kanon is by Joseph, with an acrostic of his name in the ninth ode. For the weekdays of the sixth week, the kanons for Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday are by Joseph and Studite; the ninth ode have an acrostic with the name of Joseph; there are two kanons for the Ascension (Thursday) by John of Damascus and by Andrew of Crete; the kanons for Friday and Saturday are attributed to Joseph and Studite.

287r – Sunday before Pentekost – the kanon for this day is anonymous. The second inscription of Nilus that calls the book “Tropologion” is read after this kanon (f. 288v). The kanons for the weekdays of this week are by Joseph and Studite. In the acrostic of the ninth ode of the kanon for Saturday, the name of Joseph is read.

The manuscript ends with this kanon for Saturday before the Pentekost (designated as “N”) on f. 298v. The end is missing.

Comment. Vat. gr. 771 is a **Triodion Tropologion**. It is one of the most important manuscripts that represent the early written tradition in the compilation of the Triodion repertory. It is important, first, in terms of the Preparatory season of Lent. Regarding this season, it is comparable to the earliest known Triodion in Greek identified in two Sinai manuscripts from the tenth century: 734–735.[61] In the Vatican and the Sinai manuscripts, three weeks of the Preparatory season, which start with the Sunday of Prodigal Son, are included. In the Sinai manuscripts, this Sunday is designated as “τῇ Κυριακῇ τοῦ Ἀσώτου.” In Vat. gr. 771, the designation is the same as that of another early Vatican manuscript, Vat. gr. 1067, a Gospel-Lectionary from the ninth–tenth centuries. The first Sunday of the Preparatory season, that of the Publican and Pharisee, is missing in the cited manuscripts. According to M. Momina, the older manuscript is a Triodion with less Preparatory Sundays are included in it.[62] It has already been established in the liturgical literature that Great Week was formed first.[63] By the end of the third and the beginning of the fourth century, the period of the Quadragesima was established. At the First Ecumenical Council in Nicaea in 325, the Cheesefare week was regulated. Meatfare Sunday and the Sunday of Prodigal Son were added to it sometime later. The first Sunday of the Preparatory season, that of the Publican and Pharisee, was established last. The designations of the first two Sundays – of the Publican and Pharisee and of the Prodigal Son – were taken from the Gospel readings Luke 18:10–14 and Luke 15:11–32; the designations of next two Sundays referred to the Abstinence on Monday that follows after each of them.[64] In one of the oldest sources transmitting Jerusalem worship up to the Studite era (until the ninth century) that were discussed here – like the Diary of Egeria, the Armenian Lectionary and the Georgian Lectionary, only two Sundays of the Preparatory season are

included: those of the Meatfare and of the Cheesefare.[65] Vat. gr. 771 and Sinai gr. 734–735 are among the earliest manuscripts to document a repertory for the Sunday of the Prodigal Son. The earliest dated Triodion was designated as such a type of book in its initial rubric – Sinai gr. 736 from 1027/28 starts with the Sunday of the Publican and Pharisee and ascribes the entire book to Joseph and Theodore the Studite.[66]

Second, Vat. gr. 771 is important because it gives evidence about the synthesis between the Sabaites and Studites, and especially of the latter in their efforts to compile the Triodion as an individual liturgical book.[67] The combined kanons for the Great Week by poet-composers of both schools, of St. Sabas and of the Studite monastery, speak particularly eloquently for this: the Studites have taken odes from the kanons of Kosmas and Andrew and have woven their own odes into the kanon cycle. They have preserved the pieces by the Sabaites for great feasts: for Palm Sunday by Andrew, Kosmas and John, for the Great Week by Kosmas and Andrew, for Easter, for New Sunday and the second Sunday after Easter by John and Andrew, and for Wednesday of the fourth week before the Pentekost by Andrew. The Studites, especially Joseph and Theodore, also created chants for the days between these feasts. A clear example of this is the inclusion of photagogika after the ninth ode. It is known that the authorship of the photagogika was ascribed to the son of Emperor Leo VI the Wise, Constantine VII Porphirogenetos.[68] The Studites wrote many pieces for both Sundays and weekdays of the Triodion and Pentekostarion cycles.

Third, the manuscript is important in that it shows the compilation of the Triodion as a new type of liturgical book at the time of the Studite school. The compilation of the book from Easter onwards, that is, the Pentekostarion section, is especially indicative of this conclusion. The services for all the days of this part are attributed to Joseph and Theodore the Studite, which confirms that this entire part had been newly compiled/composed by the Studites by the end of the eighth–ninth centuries. This, in turn, confirms the important conclusion that Clement of Ohrid had worked precisely on this part of the Triodion that was newly compiled in his time.[69]

The Vatican manuscript is important, fourthly, as an example of the adaptation of a repertory in local practice such as that of the Grottaferrata Monastery.[70] At that time, reconsideration of the established repertory was quite possible, and particularly of the genre of the kanon. Numerous kanon cycles for worship were in circulation, but their use for a certain feast had not yet been strictly determined, as was the case with the stichera idiomela. In Vat. gr. 771 the earliest four cycles of triodia kanons for the weekdays of the Quadragesima are included, both with acrostic and without, that were revealed by I. Karabinov: one kanon by Theodore the Studite, one by Clement and two by Joseph. The manuscript gives evidence of what was included in the earliest liturgical books of the Triodion type and how it was transmitted. On the grounds of comparative studies in this respect, the Bulgarian scholar Georgi Popov revealed original works by the Old Bulgarian poet

Constantin of Preslav in the Quadragesima part of the oldest Slavic Triodia. Constantin translated the three cycles of the triodia kanons: the acrostic cycles by Theodore and Clement and non-acrostic cycle by Joseph; he replaced the acrostic cycle of the latter with his own original triodia kanons and, as an author, already put his name in the acrostic.[71] This testifies once again that the Old Bulgarian authors have used Greek patterns. Regarding diversity and freedom of the written practice, of variations of pieces and authors included in manuscripts, the liturgical repertory has preserved a relatively stable arrangement in terms of its compositional structure. This repertory was open to various local or regional additions and inclusions, but its basic structure was maintained. Actually, this basic structure was the "backbone" of the liturgical repertory: it guarded the meaning that was originally put in it, carrying and transmitting it over the centuries.

Fifth and finally, the manuscript is important because of the *theta* notation. There is no information about this notation in recent publications.[72] Only stichera idiomela are notated, as was the practice in terms of the *theta* notation in both Greek and Slavic sources.[73] The notation is revealed in the repertory for five weeks, as can be seen from the preserved initial part of the manuscript: in full consequence for the Orthros and Vespers services of the days from the third Sunday Vespers in Lent through Friday Vespers of the next fourth, fifth, sixth and Holy week, including all the Sundays in between, as well as Lazarus Saturday and Palm Sunday. The stichera in *theta* notation are for the following services: the third Sunday Vespers; fourth week from Monday Orthros through Friday Vespers and the fourth Sunday Orthros and Vespers; the fifth week from Monday Morning through Friday Vespers and the fifth Sunday Orthros and Vespers; the sixth week from Monday Orthros through Friday Vespers, stichera for Lazarus Saturday and the sixth Sunday, Palm Sunday; and Holy Week from Monday through Friday. The last stichera in *theta* notation are for Good Friday Vespers. Vespers is always designated with ἑσπέρας; and the Orthros – with "πρωΐ." All the stichera until Lazarus Saturday in the next part of the manuscript, where the services by the days with kathismata, stichera and kanons are included, are prosomoia. The stichera idiomela are placed in the front of the manuscript. The first unnotated stichera idiomela in the second part of the manuscript (four in number) are for Lazarus Saturday (f. 132r), then for Palm Sunday (139r) and so on. The stichera idiomela here are different from those notated for the same days in the previous part of the manuscript. They also are of more varied kinds. For instance, the Vespers stichera are designated as "stichera on *Kyrie ekekraxa*" and the stichera aposticha are always added to them; the Orthros stichera are designated as "stichera for *ainus*" and the stichera aposticha are also added to them. The alphabetika stichera are included for Palm Sunday. The notated stichera idiomela for the weeks of Lent until the Lazarus Saturday, at the beginning of the manuscript, are followed by the same weeks; but here the stichera prosomoia are written down in the services. The notated stichera idiomela from Lazarus

Saturday until Great Friday complement the unnotated stichera idiomela for the same services written further in the manuscript. It remains to be answered why precisely these stichera idiomela were put in the front of the manuscript and were notated.

It seems likely that the stichera for the previous Sundays and weeks (those of the Preparatory season, the first and the second weeks of Lent) were notated as well. The notated stichera were put before the repertory of the three preparatory weeks of Lent. In terms of this arrangement the manuscript is unique: such an arrangement is not known in any other familiar Triodion. At the same time (eleventh century) most of the same stichera idiomela entered the repertory of the notated Sticheraria. They were put into their real liturgical place in the Triodion section of the Sticherarion.[74] It is also likely that the notation of the stichera was done in the center where the manuscript was supposedly written – at the Grottaferrata monastery. It is obvious that the *theta* notation was used there in the eleventh century when the manuscript was written: Vat. gr. 771 is considered one of the earliest witnesses to the liturgical practice of this monastery.[75] In all probability, however, the prototype of the manuscript was Constantinopolitan. Some of the authors included are evidence of this. In the first place, this was the repertory of stichera and photagogika linked with the names of the two Emperors that were involved in hymnography – Leo VI the Wise and his son Constantine VII. It was established that the Emperor's works were recorded and notated very early in manuscripts originating from the capital or its region. In the second place, there are the two not very well-known hymnographers, Sergios and Michael, whose stichera for Great Friday and kanon for Easter were, respectively, included. The first author, Sergios, could be Sergios the Confessor, born in Constantinople and died after 829.[76] The two genres, the stichera and kanons, were already among the major ones in Byzantine hymnography at his time. The second author, Michael, could be identified as Michael Sinkellos from the end of the eighth and the first half of the ninth century – a homilist, grammarian, a close associate of Theodore Graptos and Theophanos Graptos, and abbot of the Hora monastery in Constantinople where he died and was sanctified.[77] In the third place, there is Tarasios, whose name is written above the service for Great Saturday: Tarasios was a patriarch of Constantinople from 784 to 806.[78] It is not clear who Marko was – there are no data about this author. Also, it is difficult to identify George, one of the authors in the manuscript to whom kanons for the Bright week were attributed. During the eighth–ninth centuries, various men of letters with the name George have worked in Byzantium. If we are convinced that the original of the manuscript is from Constantinople, and mostly authors from the capital are included in it, it could be said that George may have been George of Nicomedia (d. after 860), deacon, priest and chartophylax of Hagia Sophia.[79]

The *theta* signs are put on the last syllables of some concluding phrasal words, both polysyllabic and monosyllabic. Among them are: *διὸ* – therefore,

due to which, so; *γυμνός* – undefended; *πίστις* – faith; *θαῦμα* – miracle; *ἡμᾶς* – us; *Θεός* – God; *μέν* – in fact, really; *δέ* – but, on the contrary, namely, etc. All these words are important for their intrinsic meaning: they require both an explanation and an interpretation. The neume signs put above them suggest their emphasis, which means that the chanter had to pay special attention to them in his/her performance. Most of these words are separated by dots on either side. The sign *theta* is very often put on the first cited word – *διὸ*, which is also emphasized by dots on both its sides. The same word with the neume sign was revealed in one of the fragments of the Princeton manuscript Garrett 24 written up to 800 at the latest (see Chapter 2).

In Old Bulgarian manuscripts of the Triodion type, the *theta* notation is encountered in two of the earliest notated sources: a fragment of Triodion from the eleventh century, the Triodion of Bitolja from the second half of the twelfth century, and the Triodion of Argir from the end of the twelfth or the first half of the thirteenth century.[80] The *theta* notation had a very wide dissemination.[81] This is confirmed by both manuscripts stemming from different geographical regions, and the similar writing of the sign put on determined places in them. It was suggested that there was a center in which this notation was worked out, systematized and transmitted from. Such a center could have been the "St. Sabas" monastery in Jerusalem, where great hymnographers of the time of Damascus had worked. This is an argument in favor of O. Strunk's suggestion that the origin of the palaeobyzantine *Coislin* notation, the neume fund to which the sign *theta* belongs, was in Jerusalem.[82]

In conclusion, regarding the characteristics of manuscript Vat. gr. 771, in terms of its composition and structure, the following could be stressed: a synthesis was achieved between the two great hymnographic schools, the Sabaitic and the Studite, during the time from the seventh to the twelfth centuries. The synthesis is revealed in a compilation of the combined repertory by authors from the two schools and, respectively, the continuation of the tradition of the Sabaites by the Studites with a constantly enrichment of the created earlier. It was established that the strongest direct links between Italy and Byzantium were, first, in the sixth and eighth centuries when the impact of the East was particularly tangibly on the Italian peninsula, and second, in the late ninth and the middle of the eleventh century when Southern Italy was a Byzantine province.[83] The Sabaites' works, such as the stichera and kanons by John the Monk, Kosmas of Maiuma and Andrew of Crete, were preserved for the greatest feasts: Lent with Lazarus Saturday and Palm Sunday, Holy Week, Easter, New Sunday and the second Sunday after Easter. The Studites' works are for all feasts: those for the greatest feasts are often combined with those of the Sabaites. It is revealed that freedom existed in the choice of the repertory for a certain feast, no matter whether this repertory was anonymous or by some author. The basic structure of the composition, as it was said, however, was preserved. Various

works could have been included in that structure, but they had to be consistent with the worship in terms of their place, genre, mode, etc. Also, it is clear that freedom existed in the choice of the notated material; in all probability, the writer had the right to choose what, how and how much to notate the text. At the same time, some systematic approach in terms of the notated places can be seen: monosyllabic and polysyllabic words in stichera for great feasts that definitely bear a meaningful accent are notated. In this respect, we could speak about the establishment of a tradition of notation that was apparently accepted by the Slavs (especially Bulgarians) at a very early time, and applied to the Slavic (the Old Bulgarian) hymnographic manuscripts like the two cited above Bulgarian Triodia – of Orbelja and of Argir. The Vatican manuscript also poses the question of where the notation of the repertory of the Eastern church started: in Jerusalem, respectively, in the Sabaites' school, where chants or parts of chants for the feasts of the highest rank were notated; or did this happen later on, along with the formation of the notated liturgical books that had emerged by the end of the tenth and the first quarter of the eleventh centuries? Having in mind some of the earliest hymnographic manuscripts of the Menaion and Triodion types (for instance, Garrett 24, the Sinai manuscripts 569, 581, 613, 620, 736, etc.), in which certain selected chants are notated, the first suggestion seems more likely – selected chants or parts of chants were notated first, and the entirely notated books only emerged later.

As a whole, finally, the manuscript under consideration displays a rich liturgical hymnographic practice, first of all from the time of the Studites from the end of the eighth and ninth centuries. This was the practice from which the newly baptized Slavic countries and, in the first place, Bulgaria were able to draw. The practice permitted a freedom, which – it could be suggested – was conditioned by both the existence of various Typika and their redactions that were in use, like those of the most popular Studite Typikon at that time – the Studite-Aleksios redaction and the Evergetis one. The newly baptized countries had to make their choice and, accordingly, their selection in order to adapt to local needs and requirements. The reconsideration of the accepted practice, and not its mechanical implementation, outlines the contribution that they made in the course of the further development and enrichment of Orthodox literary culture. This contribution included the compilation of books, composition of repertory, selection of some distinguished authors and everything that strengthened the foundations of the overall spiritual culture of the Orthodox Church.

V. Eleventh–twelfth centuries

1. (13) M **99** – a fragment, 3 folia. The fragment was determined as a Tropologion in the Catalogue of the Sinai Greek manuscripts discovered in 1975.[84]

Comment. There is no information about the content of the fragment.

VI. Twelfth century

1. (14) **Sinai 784** – 82 folia, 24 × 18, 5 (according to its format, the manuscript is close to Sinai 777 from the eleventh century). K. Clark determines the manuscript as Paraklitike in his Checklist,[85] but its initial rubric in plaited decoration calls it "Tropologion" (f. 1r): Τροπολόγιον σὺν Θ[εῷ] περιέχ-[ων] στιχ[ηρὰ] καθίσματα τῶν ὀκτώηχων καὶ κανόνας ὅμοιως ("Tropologion with the Holy God containing stichera, kathismata in the eight modes and kanons as well"). Six circles are painted on the initial folio: they are in two rows by three with written text in each of them. The succession of chants in mode 1 is as follows: three stichera anastasima (ἀναστάσιμα) at *Κύριε ἐκέκραξα* for Saturday Vespers (the incipit of the first one is *Τὰς ἑσπερινὰς ἡμῶν εὐχὰς)*; a sticheron apostichon (*τοῦ στί χου* with the incipit *Τῷ πάθει σου Χριστέ*); four stichera anastasima for Sunday Orthros. The last of them, *Τὴν θεοπρεπῆ σου συγκατάβασιν*, which bears the designation "stichos" in many early Oktoechoi, does not have any designation here – it was attached to the other three stichera anastasima; four stichera for repentance (κατανυκτικὰ); four for the Holy Cross (σταυρώσιμα); three for the Apostles (ἀποστολικὰ); three for the martyrs (μαρτυρικὰ) at *Kyrie ekekraxa* and stichos sticheron for Vespers; three martyrika with a sticheron apostichon for the Orthros (the stichera aposticha are not consistently marked in each mode); two stichera for the deceased (νεκρώσιμα); nine stichera theotokia (θεοτόκια: the first one is designated later as *dogmatikon – Τὴν παγκόσμιον δόξαν*). A rubric for the kathismata follows the plaited decoration. The kathismata are in the same thematical groups: four anastasima at *Θεὸς Κύριος* (the last one is designated as "hypakoe"); three triadika performed on Sundays during the Quadragesima instead of Alleluia (ὕμνοι τριαδικοὶ, the first one is *Σωματικαῖς*); four katanuktika; four stavrosima (last one is designated as χόρος ἀγγελικὸς); two apstolika; four martyrika; two nekrosima and ten theotokia. Mode 2 follows with a new rubric for stichera anastasima. The stichera and the kathismata follow in the same order in the eight modes. Their number in each mode varies. A cycle of stichera for the deceased (κοιμητέντες) in the eight modes is included after the fourth plagal mode.

Comment. The manuscript is the earliest Tropologion of the later-designated Oktoechos type. The initial rubric reports about the stichera, kathismata and kanons, but the latter are not included. It is possible that they have not been preserved. The manuscript counts only eighty-two folia and it seems likely that its second part is missing. If the kanons were written down, it is not clear whether they were designed for Sunday only or for the weekdays, as well. The indication of them in the initial rubric suggests that the manuscript should have been a full Oktoechos with the standard major repertory for this liturgical book containing the stichera, kathismata and kanons. Chants included in the manuscript are for the resurrectional and common services.

2. (15) **Sinai 789** – 210 folia, 22 × 17, 2 (the format of this manuscript is almost the same as that of Sinai 777 and 784). K. Clark designates the manuscript as "Tropologion." The initial rubric, in large painted decoration, reads (f. 9r): Τροπολόγιον σὺν Θ[ε]ῷ περιέχων τὰ στιχ[ηρὰ] καθ[ίσματα] καὶ καν[ώνας] τὲ κατ᾽ἡμέρα ("Tropologion with the Holy God containing stichera, kathismata and kanons for weekdays"). The initial rubric is preceded by a table with the number of the days and the hours for each of the twelve months of the year, starting with September and ending with August. There is an Arabic text under the table (f. 1v). An eight-mode cycle of stichera anastasima for Saturday Vespers and stichera prosomoia for the Theotokos then follows. After this cycle, another eight-mode cycle of short eksaposteilaria is written. The eksaposteilaria are identified as resurrectional ones. Mode 1 follows the initial rubric and it includes three stichera anastasima for Saturday Vespers on f. 9r (the first one is *Τὰς ἑσπερινὰς ἡμῶν εὐχὰς*) along with a sticheron apostichon (*Τῷ πάθει σου Χριστὲ*); three stichera anastasima for Sunday Orthros along with a sticheron apostichon (*Τῶν πατρικῶν σου κόλπων*; a designation of "stichos" in modes plagal 2 and plagal 4 is not written); the stichera for the common services follow: four katanuktika, three stavrosima, three apostolika, eight martyrika (four for Vespers on *Kyrie ekekraxa* and four for the Orthros), two nekrosima and six theotokia. The stichera are followed by the kathismata: anastasima on *Lord is God*, hypakoe (the second troparion is *Τὸν τάφον σου Σωτὴρ*), triadika; three katanuktika, three stavrosima, two apostolika, four martyrika, one nekrosimon and six theotokia. In the same order, the repertory of stichera and kathismata follow in the other modes up to and including the eighth. From f. 50r, kanons for both Sundays and weekdays are written down in the following order:

Sunday Orthros – kanon anastasimon by John the Monk and kanon for the Theotokos – two combined kanons sung on the same heirmos.
Monday Orthros – for the Asomaton.
Tuesday Orthros – for St. John Prodromos[86] with an acrostic in the ninth ode, in which the name of Joseph is read (ΙΩCΗΦ).
Wednesday Orthros – for the Theotokos.
Thursday Orthros – for the Holy Apostles.
Friday Orthros – stavrosimon with an acrostic in the ninth ode, in which the name of Joseph is read; the initial letter I is written in the troparion of the eighth ode.
Saturday Orthros – for the deceased ("koimitentes").

In this order, the kanons follow in the eight modes. At the end, prokeimena for the Liturgy are written on f. 181v, outside of the basic content of the manuscript. The manuscript ends with a Vita written from f. 190r up to the end without any designation.

Comment. The manuscript is a **Tropologion** of the later-designated **full Oktoechos-Paraklitike** type, containing the major genres of this type of

book: stichera, kathismata and kanons in the eight modes. The stichera and the kathismata are for both the resurrectional services on Saturday Vespers and Sunday Orthros, and for the common weekday services. The following chants are also included: a cycle of stichera for the Blessed Virgin in the eight modes, by two kanons for Sundays and by one for the weekdays from Monday Orthros through Saturday Orthros. The two kanons for Sundays – the anastasimon and theotokion – are revealed in the Princeton manuscript Garrett 24. In the Sinai manuscript, eksaposteilaria and prokeimena for the Eucharist are still included. For the first time in a Tropologion, there is a commemoration of St. John Prodromos for Tuesday. It seems likely that the manuscript was compiled or revised by the Studites. Unlike the manuscript Sinai 777, the kanons here do not have author's attributions.

3. (16) M **18** – 200 folia. The manuscript contains kanons and stichera. It is designated as a "Tropologion" in the Catalogue of the Sinai Greek manuscripts discovered in 1975.[87]

Comment. Until now I do not have access to this manuscript, and it is not clear from the description what the type of the manuscript is like: it could be of the type of a Menaion, of an Oktoechos, etc.

4. (17) M **160** – a fragment of manuscript, 16 folia. The initial rubric reads that the manuscript is a Tropologion containing services from September through February: Τροπολόγιον σὺν Θ[ε]ῷ περιέχων ἅπασαν ἀκολουθίαν … ἀρχῆς τῆς ἰνδίκτου. καὶ μέχρι τοῦ ὅλου φεβρουαρίου μηνὸς.[88]

Comment. A fragment of Tropologion of Menaion type.

5. (18) **Vaticanus graecus 2008** – 1102, 186 folia.[89] The manuscript probably originated from the monastery "St. John Theristis" in Calabria, Southern Italy. Notated stichera idiomela in *theta*, *Coislin* and *Chartres* notation are revealed in it. The beginning and the end of the manuscript are missing. The first surviving page is quite damaged. The first legible rubric appears on f. 2v and is for January 9, the feast of St. Polyeuktos, followed by services on fixed days for every day of the month. Hence, the preserved portion of the manuscript on f. 1r is identified as the service for January 8. The beginnings of the days are written not only in the rubrics, but also on margins. The months are separated by a plaited decoration. From f. 1r to 171v, services for immovable or fixed feasts from January onwards are included. There are kathismata on *Lord is God*, stichera and kanons for every day. Almost all of the stichera are prosomoia. The stichera idiomela are included for several great feasts like February 2 (the Hypapante), March 9 (the 40 Martyrs) and March 25 (the Annunciation). They are written before the stichera prosomoia. The kanons for January are by Joseph and Theophanos. Most of them are by Theophanos. The name of Joseph is marked in the acrostic of the ninth ode of kanons. The kanon for January 31 is ascribed to John of the Holy City (Ιὣννου Αγιοπολίτης] – John of Damascus?).

On f. 22r is written kanon in mode 4 attributed to Joseph. His name is read both in the beginning of the kanon and in the acrostic in its ninth ode (f. 23r). The kanon is included in the service of Clement of Ancyra

and Agatangel on January 23. It is introduced by the following rubric: Ὁ κανὼν τῶν αγίων μαρτύρ[ων] τῶν ἐν Βουλγαρία δια Χριστὸν ἀναιρεθέντων. Πέτρου, Μανουὴλ καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτοῖς ("Kanon for the holy martyrs who perished for Christ in Bulgaria. Peter, Manuil and all the rest").[90] The two saints mentioned, Peter and Manuil, are of the group of 377 saints from the dioceses of Adrianople and Devel (Debel) murdered for their Christian faith in 813/814 by the pagans in the last year of the reign of the Bulgarian Khan Krum (803–814), who himself captured much of the population of South-eastern Thrace because of their Christian faith and deported them to Trans-Danubian Bulgaria. His actions were continued in this respect by his successor, Khan Omurtag (814–831). Among the killed Christians were many Bulgarians, like Bishop Peter, George, Presbyter Sioniy and others. In the contemporary church calendar, the memory of the killed martyrs is ascribed for January 22, when the memories of St. Apostle Timothy and Anastasios the Persian are celebrated. The kanon for the last two saints is by Theophanos in mode 1. The heirmos of the kanon for the killed Christians is *Τῳ ὁδηγήσαντ[ι] πάλ[αι] [τὸν Ἰσραὴλ]*.[91] The same heirmos is revealed in the printed Menaia from 1888 onwards in the following kanons:[92] vol. A for September–October – September 6, archangel Michael in mode 4 by Joseph; vol. B for November–December – November 3, St. George in mode 4, anonymous; vol. D for March–April – April 22, St. Theodore Sykeot in mode 4 by Joseph; vol. E for May–June – May 20, St. Thalelay (Θαλλελαίου) in mode 4 by Joseph. The incipit of the first troparion is *Ἐν βατανυξε βαρδιας* (the previous kanon for St. Clement of Ancyra and Agatangel is by Theophanos; the next service is for January 24, reverend Xenia of Rome).[93]

The further repertory of the Vatican manuscript is as follows:

36r – the new month of February starts with chants for February 1. For February 2, there are the first two stichera on *Kyrie ekekraxa*. The next stichera are designated as "prosomoia." The kanons for the same day are by Kosmas and Andrew. Some local feasts are included. For example, for February 24 on f. 74r, after the traditional chants for the day commemorating the First and Second Findings of the Head of St. John the Baptist with kathismata prosomoia, stichera and kanon by Theophanos and an exaposteilarion after the ninth ode of the kanon, chants dedicated to St. John Theristis, the monastery's patron to whom the manuscript is dedicated, are also included (Ὁσ[ίος] π[ατ]ρ[ὸ]ς ἡμῶν Ιωάν[νου] τοῦ Θεριστοῦ). The service further contains: a kathisma prosomoion on *Θεὸς Κύριος*, stichera prosomoia, sticheron idiomelon, which is indicated only with the remark that it should be looked for where the stichera idiomela are located (ζη τ[ει] στιχ[ιρόν] ἰδιόμελον ἐις τ[ὸ]… – nothing further is written), and two kanons. The first kanon is in mode 2 and is given as "the work of Leo Stilis" (f. 74r: ποιήμα Λεοντ[ίου] Στυλοῦ); the author could have been the one who wrote the dedication, and it is most likely that he was also the writer of the manuscript (the name Leo is mentioned in the dedication). The second kanon is in mode plagal 4 and is introduced by the rubric "another

kanon for the Venerable One" (f. 74v). It is given as "a work by Vartolomeios Romis" (ἕτερος κανών τοῦ ὁσίου ποιῆμα Βαρτολομαίου Ρώμης).[94] A service for leap day, February 29, attributed to St. Basil the Confessor (ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ ὁμολογητοῦ Βασιλείου) is also included in the manuscript. However, the memory of St. Basil is celebrated on February 28. The prescribed service for him for February 29 could mean that when there was a leap year, the service for February 28 should have been repeated on the next day, February 29. For the service on February 29, a kanon by Theophanos is given. Most of the kanons for February are attributed to Theophanos. The kanons for 17, 19, 20, 26 and 27 are by Joseph, and his name is read in the acrostics in their ninth odes.

83r – a new rubric for March 1. The kanons for this month are also by Theophanos and Joseph. Those by Joseph are prevalent. His name is read in the acrostic of the kanons for March 2, 4, 7, 10, 16, 17, 19, 21 (two kanons), 22, 23, 24, 26 and 28. For March 9, the Forty martyrs, three stichera idiomela are included (92r-92v). In the first two of them, the *theta* sign is revealed. It was put above the word μέν (an affirmative word meaning really, actually, etc.). The kanon for the same day is by John. Three stichera idiomela are written for March 25, the Annunciation. The kanons for the same day are by Theophanos and Andrew.

128r – a new rubric for April. Two commemorations are given for April 3 – Reverend Nikita *hegumen* and Reverend Joseph the Hymnographer. According to the modern calendar, Joseph is celebrated on April 4. For April 13, a memory for Martin Pope of Rome is given. The Pope, according to the modern calendar, is celebrated on April 14. For April 23, St. George, two kanons are written – one is anonymous and the other is by Andrew. The kanons by Joseph for this month are also predominant. Joseph's name is read in an acrostic for the following days: 4, 5, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16, 17, 19, 20, 21, 22, 24, 27 and 28.

Obviously, some folia are missing between 170v and 171r because on f. 170v below a service for April 29, St. Memnon, the text begins with kathismata and stichera prosomoia (only the beginning of the first sticheron in mode plagal 4 is given). On the next folio, 171r, troparia of the fourth ode of the kanon are read; the other odes follow. It is not clear for which day this kanon was meant, since the beginning is missing.

The Menaion section of the book up to here turns out to be a full office Menaion for every day from January 8 through April 29 (April 30 follows – see below).

171v – the inscription, which is a dedication inscription, is after the ninth ode of the last kanon. It gives information about the type of the manuscript – Tropologion; the writer making the dedication – Leo the Hieromonk; the place of the dedication – the monastery "St. John Theristis"; and the year written in letters, which is identified as the year 6610. The inscription is separated from the previous text with a dividing line. It was published by K. and S. Lake.[95] The full text reads: Αφιερώθη τὸ παρὸν τροπολόγιον

παρὰ λεοντίου ἱερομονάζοντος. εἰς τὸν ναὸν του ὁσίου π[ατ]ρ[ὸ]ς ἡμῶ[ν] ᾿ Ιω[άννου] τοῦ Θεριστοῦ. ὑπὲρ συγχωρήσεως τῶν ἁμαρτίων τῶν ἐμῶν γονέων καὶ ἐμοῦ αὐτοῦ. ἐν ἔτει σχι´ ἰνδι[κτιώνος] ι´. The inscription is written twice; the second time is by a different hand in slightly larger script. The year, which was written out in letters in the first written inscription, is calculated in the second one according to the Byzantine manner and it is written here in numerals, 1102. This is assumed to be the year in which the manuscript was written.

172r – another hand, which, according to Lake and Lake, was a contemporary of the first and main hand. There are inscriptions left by the second hand. The inscriptions were written in places where the first hand had written. The color of the ink of the second hand that was used for decoration is identical to that of the first one.[96] The script of the second hand is smaller and written in paler ink. The first rubric that can be read is on the sheet above, and is for December 27, St. Steven's Day. It continues with December 29, January 1 and so on, according to the feasts of the calendar for January and February. In most places, the new feast is also marked with a cross in the margin. There is no indication of the genres of the chants included. They are identified as **kontakia and oikoi**. The indication "kontakion" was written only for January 1, St. Basil's Day. The rubric says: ἕτερον κονδ[άκιον] τοῦ ἁγίου Βασιλ[είου].

Kontakia and oikoi are written for the following days: **December**: 27 – Steven; 29 – Nikion; **January**: 1 – Basil, mode 1 and 4; 5 – for Vespers before the Epiphany, mode 4; 10 – Gregory of Nazianzen, mode 4; 11 – Theodosios the Great, mode 2; 12 – Theodora, mode 1; 14 – Abaddon, mode 2 and the killed in Sinai and Raita, also mode 2; 17 – Antony, mode 2; 18 – Athanasios, mode 1; 20 – Euthimios, mode 2; 21 – Zosime, mode plagal 4; 22 – Anastasios the Persian, mode 4; 23 – Clement of Ancyra, mode 2 and Agatangel, mode 2; 25 – Gregory the Theologian, mode 3; 27 – John Chrysostom, mode 3; 28 – Ephrem the Syrian, mode 2; 31 – Kyros and John, mode 3; **February**: 1 – Triphonos, mode plagal 4; 2 – Hypapante, mode 1 (?); 5 – Agathia, mode 4; 6 – Theodore, mode 2; 11 – Vlasios, mode 2; 14 – Auxentios, mode 2; 20 – Leo Catania, mode 2; and 24 – John the Baptist, mode 2, and Theristis by Stilis, mode 2. Stilis is the only author to whom a kontakion is attributed in this part of the manuscript. He should be Leo Stilis, whose name is revealed as an author of the kanon by the monastery's patron. There is an indication "prosomoia" for the following kontakia: January – 10 (St. Gregory Nazianzen), 11 (Reverend Theodosios the Great), 17 (Reverend Antony the Great) and 20 (Reverend Euthimios the Great); February – 2 (Hypapante) and 5 (St. Agathia). It could be seen that these kontakia are for great saint's feasts, which makes the possibility that they are kontakia idiomela very likely.

177r – the first hand returns here. The rubric reads that this is the beginning of the **stichera idiomela** in mode 1, January 1, the day of St. Basil the Great: ἦχ[ος] α´ στιχ[ηρὰ] ἰδιόμελα ἀρχομένα ἀπὸ μη[νὸς] ἰαννουαρίου. Μη[νὴ] ἰαννουαρίῳ α´ τοῦ ὁ[σίου] π[ατ]ρ[ὸ]ς ἡμ[ῶν] Βασ[ι]λ[είου].

The stichera for the Forfeast of the Epiphany follow (προεόρτια τῶν ἁγίων θεοφανείων). In this part – that of the stichera idiomela – numerous neume signs and neume combinations are revealed. The *theta* sign is written most often. Below on f. 177v troparia for the Epiphany are written. The troparia are linked with stichoi and are quite short – by a line and a half. After them, from f. 180r, stichera for the feast follow. The *theta* sign is written on the final syllable of each phrase. The first troparion that could be identified is for the first hour of the Epiphany (παραμονὴ τῶν φωτῶν). Next, two troparia are given for the same service. The incipits of the stichoi, upon which the troparia and, respectively, the stichera are chanted, are written down.

Between 177v and 178r, more folia are missing. Stichera are written on f. 178r, but their beginning is missing. The *theta* sign is not placed here. A kanon by Joseph follows. After it is the service for April 30 (f. 179r), Apostle Jacob Adelfijsky (St. Jacob/James the Great, son of Zebedee). The kathismata, stichera prosomoia and kanon are given for this service. From here, the interrupted part of the stichera for the service on April 29 continues on f. 170v. The kanon (anonymous: it is not clear for which service it was for – for April 30 or not) is interrupted in the fourth ode – most likely incorrectly completing the sheets in binding the manuscript.

On f. 180r the stichera idiomela, along with the incipits of the stichoi for the Epiphany that were interrupted on f. 178r, continue. The services follow according to the days of the calendar. Like in manuscript Vat. gr. 771, the *theta* sign is often placed above the word διὸ. The latter is framed by dots on both sides. The manuscript ends on f. 186v with the stichera for April 23. The last sticheron is in mode plagal 1 and it remains uncompleted – the end of the manuscript is missing. A cross (+) is written at the end of each sticheron.

Comment. The manuscript contains chants for the services of the immovable feasts, covering almost four months. Its greater part represents a Menaion from January 8 up to and including April 30 (1r-171v and 178r-179r). Since the beginning folia before January 8 are missing, it is difficult to say whether this section began on January 1 or with services starting in December. As we have seen, the early Tropologia of the Georgian *Iadgari* type began with the Nativity of Christ. Kathismata, stichera and kanon/s are given for each day. The inscription directly follows the Menaion section. After that follows an appendix, which is made up of two short sections. The first one was written by a different hand in a smaller script and in paler ink. It contains kontakia and oikoi for the fixed feasts from December 27 to February 24 (172r-176v); the second section was written by the first main hand (of the Menaion section) and contains stichera idiomela for the fixed feasts from January 1 to April 23 (177r-177v and 180r-186v). The final stichera from this cycle break off unfinished, since the end of the manuscript is missing. It is very likely that the stichera idiomela continued until the end of April, so as to correspond with the services given in the first section of the Menaion. As a whole, the manuscript

can be classified as a Tropologion of the Menaion type, or as a **Menaion Tropologion**. Since the beginning of it is missing, it cannot be said whether it had an opening heading and, if so, whether the manuscript was referred to as a "Tropologion" in that heading, as it was in the surviving inscription. It is known that the type of book was usually stated in the opening heading.

The study of the kanons that are included in the first section of the manuscript shows that they are by the following authors. For the days of January, they are by Joseph and Theophanos. For the days in February there are 25 kanons: seven are by Joseph, 15 are by Theophanos, one by Kosmas, one by Andrew and one by Leo Stilis for St. John Theristis. For the great feast of Hypapante on February 2, kanons by the "old masters" of the Sabaite school are given – Kosmas the Monk and "another kanon for the same feast" by Andrew of Crete. There are twenty-one kanons for March: thirteen are by Joseph, two by Theophanos, two by John, one by Steven, one by Germanos, one by Andrew and one by Clement; for the great feasts in this month, kanons by the Sabaite hymnographers are included. For instance, a kanon by John [the Monk] is given for the feast of Forty martyrs on March 9, for the Annunciation on March 25 the kanons are by Theophanos and there is "another" by Andrew [of Crete]. For April, there are 21 kanons: all of them are by Joseph, with the exception of the one for St. George on April 23 – it is attributed to Andrew. Among the distinguished hymnographers of the Sabaite and Studite schools are the two authors Leo Stilis and Vartolomeos Romis. They wrote kanons for the patron of the monastery, St. John Theristis, to whom the manuscript was devoted. There is no data for now about these authors – in all probability, they were some local authors from Southern Italy.

The texts of the kontakia and oikoi from the second section of the manuscript are revealed in the following notated manuscripts: (1) Ashburnhamense 64 – a Psaltikon from 1289 in middlebyzantine notation.[97] Three kontakia and oikoi are identified as the same as those in Vat. gr. 2008: for January 1 (Circumcision of Jesus/St. Basil's day: the second kontakion and oikos included), for January 6 (the Epiphany) and for February 2 (Hypapante). The incipits are as follows: January 1, mode 4, the kontakion – *Ὤφθης βάσις ἀσειστος*; the oikos: *Τῆς σωφροσύνης ὁ κρατὴρ*; January 6, mode 4 – the kontakion: *Ἐπέφανης σήμερον*; the oikos: *Τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ τῶν ἐθνῶν*; February 2, mode 1 – the kontakion: *Ὁ μήτραν παρθενικὴν*; the oikos: *Τῇ θεοτόκῳ προσδράμωμεν*; (2) Ottob. gr. 393 – a Synaxarion, thirteenth century, also in middlebyzantine notation. Three identical kontakia and oikoi with the Vatican manuscript are revealed, as well: for December 27 (St. Steven), mode 3, and the same chants in mode 4 for January 1 and 6; and 3) Vat. gr. 345 – a Psaltikon, thirteenth–fourteenth centuries, also in middlebyzantine notation.[98] The same kontakia and oikoi with Vat. gr. 2008 are for January 6, mode 4, and for February 2, mode 1.

The genres included in Vat. gr. 2008 – kathismata, stichera prosomoia, kanons, kontakia with oikoi and stichera idiomela – are for each day of the four months represented in the manuscript. They are the following:

Kathismata-Stichera prosomoia-Kanons	*Kontakia-Oikoi*	*Stichera idiomela*
	December	
	27 – Steven	
	29 – Nippon	
	January	
	1 – Basil	1 – Basil
	5 – Forfeast of Epiphany	5 – Forfeast of Epiphany
6 – Epiphany	6 – Epiphany	
8 – ? (Joseph)		
9 – Polyeuktos (Theophanos)		
10 – Gregory Nazianzen	10 – Gregory	
11 – Theodosios	11 – Theodosios	
12 – *Tatiana*	12 – *Theodora*	
13 – ? [13–15 missing folia]		
14 – ?	14 – Avadon	14 – Avadon
15 – ?		15 – John Kolibar
16 – (Joseph)		16 – Peter's chains
17 – Antony (two kanons by Theophanos)	17 – Antony	17 – Antony
18 – Athanasios (Steven)	18 – Athanasios	18 – Athanasios
19 – Makarios (Theophanos)		
20 – Euthimios (Theophanos)	20 – Euthimios	20 – Euthimios
21 – *Neophitos* (two kanons; the second is by Joseph)	21 – *Zosime*	
22 – Timotheos Anastasios of Persia (Theophanos)	22 –Anastasios	22 – Anastasios
23 – Clement of Ancyra Agatangel (Theophanos) *Peter, Manuil* (Joseph)	23 – Clement	23 – Clement
24 – Xenia		
25 – Gregory the Theologian (Theophanos)	25 – Gregory	25 – Gregory
26 – Klaudios Asterios the New (Joseph)		
27 – John Chrysostom	27 – John Chrysostom	27 – John Chrysostom
28 – Ephrem the Syrios	28 – Ephrem the Syrios	28 – Ephrem the Syrios
29 – Ignatios (Theophanos)		
30 – Xenophontos		
31 – Kyros and John	31 – Kyros and John	31 – Kyros and John
	February	
1 – Triphonos (Theophanos)	1 – Triphonos	1 – Triphonos
2 – Hypapante (Kosma, Andrew)	2 – Hypapante	2 – Hypapante

Kathismata-Stichera prosomoia-Kanons	*Kontakia-Oikoi*	*Stichera idiomela*
3 – Simeon the Presbyter (Joseph)		
4 – Isidor Pelusiodsky (Theophanos)		
5 – Agathia (Theophanos)	5 – Agathia	
6 – Phaustas (Theophanos)	6 – *Theodore*	
7 – Partenios; Theodore Stratilatos		
8 – Zahary (Theophanos)		
9 – Nikiphoros (Theophanos)		
10 – Charalampios		
11 – Vlasios Sevast (Joseph)	11 – Vlasios	11 – Vlasios
12 – Meletios Bishop of Antioch (Theophanos)		
13 – Martinian (Theophanos)	13 – Martinian	
14 – Auxentios (Theophanos)	14 – Auxentios	
15 – Onisim (Theophanos)		
16 – Pamphiliy the Sinait (Theophanos)		
17 – Theodore Tyron Mariamnis (Joseph)		
18 – Leo Pope of Rome (Theophanos)		
19 – Arhip (Joseph)		
20 – Leo of Catania (Joseph)	20 – Leo of Catania	
21 – Timotheos		
22 – Eugenia		
23 – Polycarp (Theophanos)		
24 – John the Baptist (Theophanos) John Theristis (Leo Stilis)	24 – John the Baptist John Theristis	24 – John the Baptist John Theristis
25 – Tarasios archbishop of Constantinople		
26 – Porphirios bishop of Gaza (Joseph)		
27 – Vukol bishop of Smirna (Joseph)		
28 – Prokopios Dekapolit		
29 – Basil (Theophanos)		
	March	
1 – Evdokia		1 – Evdokia
2 – Theodot bishop (Joseph)		
3 – Kleonik and Vasilik		
4 – Paul of Adelphia (Joseph)		
5 – Konon		
6 – 42 Martyrs		6 – 42 Martyrs
7 – The martyrs of Herson (Joseph)		

Kathismata-Stichera prosomoia-Kanons	*Kontakia-Oikoi*	*Stichera idiomela*
8 – Theophilact of Nikomedia		
9 – 40 martyrs of Sevast (John)		9 – 40 Martyrs
10 – Kodrat of Korint (Joseph)		
11 – Sophronios of Jerusalem		
12 – Theophanos; Gregory Dialogist (Stephen)		
13 – Nikiphor of Constantinople		
14 – Alexander Pudny		
15 – Pionion (Germanos)		
16 – Pope (Joseph)		
17 – Aleksios (Joseph)		
18 – Cyril archbishop of Jerusalem		
19 – Hrysant and Daria (Joseph)		
20 – Fathers killed in St. Sabas (Theophanos)		
21 – Virilon bishop of Katania (Joseph); Peter (there is no kanon); Venedikt (Joseph)		
22 – Hieromonk Basil (Joseph)		
23 – Nikonos (Joseph)		
24 – Forfeast of the Annunciation		
25 – The Annunciation (John; Andrew) (exaposteilarion after the first kanon)		25 – The Annunciation
26 – Archangel Gavriil (Joseph)		
27 – Matrona of Thessaloniki (Theophanos)		
28 – Hilarion (Joseph)		
29 – [Mark] Bishop of Arethusa		
30 – John of the Latter (Clement)		
31 – Theophil		
	April	
1 – Mary of Egypt		
2 – Titus		
3 – Nikita abbot of Midakia Joseph the Hymnographer		
4 – Theodul; Agatopod (one kanon by Joseph)		
5 – Theodora (Joseph)		
6 – Euthimios archbishop of Constantinople		
7 – George, bishop of Mytilene		
8 – Irodion, Agav, Ruph, and others (Joseph)		

Kathismata-Stichera prosomoia-Kanons	*Kontakia-Oikoi*	*Stichera idiomela*
9 – Eupsihios (Joseph)		
10 – African; Terentios; Pompily and others (Joseph)		
11 – Antipa (Joseph)		
12 – Phlorention and Diokletian (Joseph)		
13 – Martin pope of Rome (Joseph)		
14 – Apostle and archbishop Pudiy and Trophimos (Joseph)		
15 – George Malay		
16 – Irina, Agapia and Hyronia (Joseph)		
17 – Akakios, bishop of Melitene (Joseph)		
18 – John		
19 – Theodore in Pergia (Joseph)		
20 – Theodore Trichinas (Joseph)		
21 – John Aryan and of Sinai (Joseph)		
22 – Theodore bishop of Sikeot (Joseph)		
23 – George (two kanons; the second is by Andrew)		23 – George
24 – Elisabeth (Joseph)		
25 – Apostle St. Marko		
26 – Basil, bishop of Amasea		
27 – Bishop Simeon (Joseph) Zosime (Joseph)		
28 – Iason (Joseph)		
29 – Memnon (Joseph)		
30 – Jacob Adelfijsky (Jacob the Great, son of Zebedee) John the Theologian (one kanon: up to the beginning of the fourth ode)		

It is clear that the kathismata, stichera prosomoia and kanons are predominant; the stichera idiomela are fewer, and the kontakia with oikoi are the least. All of these chants are revealed in thirteen days of the two months, January and February: the kathismata, stichera prosomoia, kanons, and kontakia with oikoi and stichera idiomela. Nine of them are in January (17, 18, 20, 22, 23, 25, 27, 28 and 31) and four are in February (1, 2, 11 and 24). There are no kontakia with oikoi for March and April. Commemorations are different for three days only: January 12, 21 and February 6.

The study of the **notation** in the third section of the manuscript displays characteristics that remain unique. Jorgen Raasted was the first to notice the notation in this manuscript. He represented Vat. gr. 2008 among the manuscripts in *theta* notation that was put on folia 177r-186v.[99] Raasted determined the manuscript to be of the "old-fashioned type" because the Tropologia to which the Vatican manuscript belonged were of the old Jerusalem tradition, or the tradition of the Holy city *Ἁγιοπολίτης*.[100] Mariana Dimitrova, based on Raasted's information, also represented the manuscript as one in *theta* notation.[101] These are the only references to notation in this manuscript. Diane Touliatos-Banker, who published a Checklist of the notated manuscripts in the Vatican, did not include Vat. gr. 2008 among the notated Vatican manuscripts.[102]

The study of the manuscript shows that the stichera idiomela are notated. These stichera are regularly included in the notated Sticheraria that emerge by the end of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh century.[103] The notation is revealed in stichera for numerous great feasts. The notated stichera are seen in the following services:

January (15 notated stichera): 177r-v – 1 (St. Basil the Great), 5 (the Forfeast of the Epiphany), 6 (the Epiphany: stichera + troparia); 180r-v (the Epiphany continues) – for small hours; 181r – 14 (Avadon and Raita [Reverend Fathers killed in Sinai and Raita?]), 15 (St. John Kolibar), 16 (Honest Chains of the Holy Apostle Peter), 17 (St. Antony); 181v – 18 (St. Athanasios and Cyril), 20 (Reverend Euthimios the Great); 182r – 22 (The Holy Apostle Timothy and Reverend martyr Anastasios), 23 (St. Clement of Ancyra), 25 (St. Gregory the Theologian); 182v – 27 (the transfer of the relics of St. John Chrysostom), 28 (Reverend Ephrem), 31 (The Holy Maccabees and Miracle workers Kyros and John).

February (5 notated stichera): 183r – 1 (The Holy Martyr Triphon), 2 (Hypapante); 183v – 11 (The Holy Martyr Vlasiy); 184r – 13 (Reverend Martinian), 24 (the First and Second Finding of the Honest Head of St. John the Baptist).

March (4 notated stichera): 184v – 1 (St. Evdokia), 6 (The 42 Holy Martyrs), 9 (The Holy 40 Martyrs); 185r-186v – 25 (The Theotokos – the Annunciation).

April (1 notated sticheron): 186v – 23 (St. George).

The stichera idiomela from the previous section of the manuscript that were mentioned for February 2, 9 and 25 are not included here.

As it was mentioned above, the most commonly written neume sign is *theta*, which signifies an ornamental melodic formula. This sign, as a musical one, could be easily confused with *theta* as a sign for an abbreviation (as in, for instance, the word παρ[θ]ένον that appears very often in the text): in both cases, the *thetas* are written in the same way. In many places the sign is written independently and is placed above both multisyllabic and monosyllabic words. In the case of multisyllabic words, it is most frequently written above the final syllable. It is frequently found above a series of separate words which express important meanings and represent separate

poetic phrases/columns. Words such as *διὸ, ἄλλω, ἰδοὺ, χαῖρε, χόρος, πατρὸς, καὶ νῦν* and others are framed with dots on either side. The *theta* sign appears both independently and in a "developed" form, that is, accompanied by other signs, such as the *diple* (180r, 181v, 182v, 183v and 185v), two *diple* placed one above the other, *diple* with a *kratema* above it (180r, 182v, 183v and 185v), *bareia* (185v), a double *bareia, apostrophos, duo apostrophoi* (180r, 181v, 182v, 183v and 185v), *piasma* (180r, 181v and 185v), *ksiron klasma* (182v), *petaste*, a ligature of *bareia* and *oksia* (182v and 185v), etc. In some places, the enumerated signs can also be found without *theta*. Whole words that express important meanings – for example, "the Son" (180v), "today" and "God" (185v) – are notated with such signs.

Besides *theta*, the signs found in the section of the stichera idiomela in the Vatican manuscript also include other neumes, almost all of which, like *theta*, are in most cases written independently above certain syllables and/or words. Also like *theta*, they constitute stenographic symbols for various melodic formulas. The signs revealed belong to the two basic notational systems used during the palaeobyzantine period until around the final quarter of the twelfth century: ***Coislin and Chartres***. These signs are not noted by the two mentioned authors who have mentioned notation in the manuscript. The signs are as follows.

1 *Thematismos* (182v and 185v).[104] This sign is from the *theta* family, and like the latter it refers to an ornamental melodic formula.[105] Along with *diple*, it is found in the earliest old Byzantine sources of both types: *Coislin* and *Chartres*.

2 *Kouphisma* (180r, 180v, 181r, 181v, 182v, 183r, 183v, 184r and 185v).[106] This sign is found in the so-called *Hagiopolites* treatise, a musical treatise that was likely written in Jerusalem. It is known according to several copies. The most well-known among them is the manuscript Paris 360 from the fourteenth century.[107] According to the study of C. Floros, the treatise is related to the late stages – fourth to sixth – of the palaeobyzantine *Coislin* notation. *Kouphisma* in the *Hagiopolites* treatise is referred to as belonging to the class of so-called χεμιτόνοι ("halftones").[108]

3 *Kylisma/tinagma/ksiron klasma II* (181r, 181v, 182r, 182v, 183r, 183v, 184v, 185r and 186v). This sign is also found in the oldest neumated sources. In the list of neumes from the palaeobyzantine *Chartres* notation in the Lavra Γ. 67 manuscript from the end of the tenth or the beginning of the eleventh century, the sign is called *tinagma*.[109] In the Vatican manuscript, it is placed above the last syllable in a phrase, that is, indicating a cadential formula.

4 *Katabasma/psiphiston/tromikon I* (180r, 181v, 182v, 183v, 185v).[110] The *Hagiopolites* mentions the sign as part of the class of so-called τόνοι ("tones") or graphically simple tones. In the Vatican manuscript, the sign is written above phrase-medial word and above also on the second-to-last cadential syllable.

5 *Pelastokatabasma* (185v).[111] The form in which the sign was written in the Vatican manuscript can also be found in the fund of the palaeobyzantine *Chartres* notation.[112]

6 *Sirma* (181r). The sign is found only in the *Hagiopolites*.[113] In the Vatican manuscript, it appears above the final syllable in a phrase.

7 *Hipsele/psilon* (182r, 183r, 184r and 185r).[114] This sign is also listed in the *Hagiopolites*, where it is given as a member of the class of so-called πνεῦματα ("spirit") signs.[115] It is also found in the neumatic list of *Chartres* signs in Lavra Γ. 67 under the name "psilon."[116] In the Vatican manuscript, the sign is written above words in the middle and beginning of phrases.

8 *Katabatromikon* (181v).[117] This sign is also in the neumatic list of *Chartres* signs in Lavra Γ. 67 and is known only from palaeobyzantine sources.[118] In the *Hagiopolites*, the sign is present in combination with other signs under the name *psephistokatabasma* and *eksistreptokatabasma*, classified among the so-called *mele*-signs (melodic figures-formulas). In the Vatican manuscript, it is written above the penultimate phrase syllable and above the phrase-medial word.

Arranged in a table according to the two types of the palaeobyzantine notation, *Chartres* and *Coislin*, the signs appear as follows:

Lavra Γ. *67 – Chartres*	*Hagiopolites – Coislin*
______	*thematismos*
______	*kouphisma*
tinagma	*kilisma*
______	*katabasma* (archaic and fully developed stages)
petastokatabasma (stage III)	*petastokatabasma* (archaic and fully developed stages)
sirma	sirma
pelaston (stages II, III and fully developed)	*hipsele* (archaic and fully developed stages)
katabatromikon (stages II–IV)	______

In several places above the dots in the text, which are written as usual, medial *martyrai* or keys that designate the modal assignment of a given mode can be found. I am not familiar with any other manuscript that contains similarly written *martyriai* in hymnographic text that are not fully notated. Keys for modes 1 (α′: 181v and 182r), 2 (β′: 181v), 4 (δ′: 180v, 183v and 186v), plagal 4 (πλ. δ′: 181v) and *nana* or medial 4 (zz: 181v) can be identified. In a series of stichera, the abbreviation *ὅμοιον* is found, a designation that is assumed to indicate a repetition of the previous phrase/motive (180v, 181v, 182v, 183v, 184r and 185v). The designation is written everywhere in the middle of the stichera, above a phrasal dot. It is found in the stichera in modes 2, 4, plagal 1 (in one sticheron), plagal 2 (in three stichera) and plagal 4

(in two stichera). In later manuscripts – from the thirteenth to fourteenth century onwards – this designation is no longer encountered.

Detailed commentary on the neumes listed above (except for *theta*, which has already been discussed) goes beyond the scope of the present work and requires a separate study. Here I will limit myself to saying that Vat. gr. 2008 turns out to be unique in at least three of its characteristics. First, it is the only Tropologion that contains repertory for four months: to date all other known Tropologia that were written between the ninth and thirteenth centuries contain repertory for up to three months at most; second, it is one of the two Tropologia (along with Vat. gr. 771) with notation; and third, its notation uniquely combines the three basic notational systems used during the palaeobyzantine period: *theta, Coislin* and *Chartres*. Such a mixture could provide guidance for the understanding and transcribing of a still-enigmatic notation in one of the "most Bulgarian" manuscripts of the second half of the thirteenth century, "Dragan's Menaion," that has been said more than once to have preserved archaic characteristics.[119] The Vatican manuscript also preserved such characteristics: the neumatic signs in it are comparable to some signs from the earliest notated sources, for example, the recently discovered "Rizov" manuscript from the State Archive in Sofia (F 1650 k/f 4/3), whose origins date to the late tenth or early eleventh century, i. e. more than a century earlier than those of the Vatican manuscript. The "Rizov" manuscript also contains *theta, katabatromikon, katabasma, thematismos*, the abbreviation *homion*, and so on.

If we have to generalize about Vat. gr. 2008, in addition to the unique characteristics mentioned above, I would also emphasize the following phenomena that it bears witness to:

1 Distribution of one of the oldest known hymnographic books, the Tropologion, into the center of the Italian *Magna Graecia*. It was used there under the name "Tropologion." The manuscript also displays evidence of the established practice of notation of stichera idiomela which were notated in both Greek and Slavic hymnographic books.[120] The Vatican manuscript is proof that such stichera were also notated in the earliest hymnographic books such as the Tropologion.
2 Preservation of archaic characteristics with respect to the composition and overall structure of the book: cycles of stichera prosomoia and idiomela grouped according to genre and theme have been written out separately, albeit in the appendix following the book's basic repertory, though they do supplement it to a certain degree. Grouping by genre and theme predominated in manuscripts until approximately the thirteenth century, after which time it was replaced by liturgical cyclic arrangement and was established everywhere.[121]
3 Evidence of the synthesis between the Sabaite and Studite schools in the compilation of the repertory of the Menaion as an independent book.[122] An especially eloquent example of this, as in Vat. gr. 771, can

be found in the kanons included in the traditional Menaion section by poet-composers from both the Sabaite and Studite schools, indicating the continuation of Sabaite traditions by the Studites in a constant enrichment of works created in an earlier era. The works by Sabaites (John the Monk, Kosmas the Monk and Andrew of Crete) are kept for the major feasts.

4 Integrating a given repertory and making it meaningful within local practices, such as the monastery of St. John Theristis in Southern Italy.

5 Bearing witness to the Jerusalem tradition in the chant practice of Southern Italy: in the notated stichera idiomela, neumatic signs of all classes laid out in the *Hagiopolites* can be found: "tones," "halftones," "spirits" and "mele" (melismata).

6 Freedom of choice of repertory for a given feast, which provides evidence of an enrichment of the traditional repertory through the addition of nontraditional works from authors who were most likely local, such as Leo Stilis and Vartolomeios Romis. It is clear that the enrichment of a given local practice was fully permitted during this early period – an enrichment that can also be observed in the early Old Slavic, respectively, Old Bulgarian chant practice by Old Bulgarian authors.

7 Freedom of choice of notation, most likely the writer decided what, how and how much to notate. At the same time, a certain systematization can be observed with respect to notation: individual words (both monosyllabic and multisyllabic) that express meaningful and/or interpretive (explanatory) emphasis. In this respect, we could speak of the establishment of a notational tradition, which also crossed over into Slavic-language Old Bulgarian hymnographic manuscripts from quite early on.

8 Various stages of use of *theta* notation, from writing an individual *theta* to its combination (its analytic expansion) with a series of other signs within the framework of a manuscript that speaks to the originality of its use.

9 The presence of various notational systems that existed at the time, within the framework of a single manuscript.

In conclusion, the Vatican manuscript reveals the rich liturgical-hymnographic practice during the period prior to the establishment of the new-Sabaitic (Jerusalem) Typikon. It also reveals a practice that bears witness to the dynamics of a tradition of compiling books, repertory, authors, notational systems and so on, as well as to the tradition's unique usage in regional (local) centers. The manuscript raises many questions that are difficult to answer at present. The main questions include where the Tropologion was first compiled and where and how the palaeobyzantine notation was first used; and whether it was already being used by hymnographers in Jerusalem or if it was first used slightly later by hymnographers of the Studite school. In any case, the manuscript testifies to a heretofore unknown distribution of Tropologia, as well as to an already established practice of notating only stichera idiomela in early manuscripts, both in Greek and in Slavic.

These are all the manuscripts in Greek that have been found until now with the designation "Tropologion" or that were defined as such a book.[123] The following conclusions could be summarized about them. The number of the manuscripts that bear the designation "Tropologion" in their rubrics or inscriptions is eighteen, as it was already mentioned at the beginning of this chapter.[124] They were written between the eighth/ninth and thirteenth centuries. In chronological order, along with the Sinai manuscripts found in 1975, they are: ΜΓ 5, P. Khirbet Mird P.A.M. 1–2, Sinai 607, ΜΓ 28, ΜΓ 56, ΜΓ 4, Sinai 556, Sinai 579, Sinai 759, Sinai 777, M 191, Vat. gr. 771, M 99, Sinai 784, 789, M 18, M 160 and Vat. gr. 2008. Two of them are from the eighth to ninth centuries, three are from the ninth century, one is from the ninth to tenth centuries, six are from the eleventh century, one is from the eleventh/twelfth century, and five are from the twelfth century. Seven "old" cited Sinai manuscripts, according to the Checklist of K. Clark, are 607, 556, 579, 759, 777, 784 and 789. Clark himself has designated only three manuscripts as Tropologia: 759, 777 and 789. M. Momina has added one more, 556.[125] The following manuscripts which are included in Clark's Checklist, but designated differently, should be considered as Tropologia: 607 and 579 (Clark determined them as Menaia), and 784 (Clark determined it as a Paraklitike). Of the Sinai manuscripts discovered in 1975, eight have been cited here: ΜΓ 5, ΜΓ 28, ΜΓ 56, ΜΓ 4, M 191, M 99, M 18 and M 160. One manuscript of Kastelion Khirbet Mird has been cited: P.A.M. 1–2. And finally, two manuscripts from the Vatican have been cited: Vat. gr. 771 and Vat. gr. 2008.

According to their content, the manuscripts are the following.

Two manuscripts are identified as belonging to one book. They follow the uninterrupted order of the ***Iadgari*/Tropologion** (ΜΓ 56 and ΜΓ 5). The services for the immovable, movable and again immovable feasts alternate in them.

Eight manuscripts are of the **Menaion type** (607, ΜΓ 28, ΜΓ 4, 556, 579, M 191, M 160 and Vat. gr. 2008). According to the church year, four of them are for September, with one for October and November, two for January, February, March, April and May, and again one for June, July and August. Most of the Menaia are for two months, with the exception of Sinai M 160 and Vat. gr. 2008, which contain repertory for six and four months, respectively. Of the Sinai manuscript, however, only the beginning of September has been preserved. Most of the months have been preserved in the Vatican manuscript, from the end of December through the end of April.

Two manuscripts are of the **Triodion-Pentekostarion** type (759 and Vat. gr. 771). Three manuscripts are of the type of the **Oktoechos**: one includes kanons – one for every weekday (Sinai 777); one includes stichera and kathismata for the resurrectional and common services (Sinai 784); and one includes stichera and kathismata for the resurrectional and common services, kanons – two for each of the resurrectional services and one for each weekday, eksaposteilaria and prokeimena for the Eucharist (Sinai 789). Three manuscripts remain with **unidentified content** (P. Khirbet Mird P.A.M. 1–2, M 99 and M 18).

Notes

1 Метревели, Е. Цит. съч., с. 922.
2 Winkler, G. Das theologische…, S. 119.
3 See about this manuscript: Gehin, P., Frøyshov, S. Nouvelles decouveries…; Nikiforova, A. The Tropologion Sin. Gr. NE/МГ 56-5…
4 Husmann, H. Ein Syro-Melkitisches Tropologion…, S. X; Winkler, G. Der armenische Ritus…, S. 282; Момина, М.. О произхождении…
5 See about the Sinai manuscripts: Clark, K. W. *Checklist of Manuscripts in St. Catherine's Monastery…*; Νικολόπουλος, Π. Γ. *Ἱερὰ μονὴ καὶ Ἀρχιεπισκοπὴ Σινᾶ. Τὰ νέα εὑρήματα τοῦ Σινᾶ…*; Nikolopulos, P. G., ed. *The New Finds of Sinai*. Athens, 1999.
6 The author of this study has worked with microforms of these manuscripts at both the library of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences and the Library of Congress in Washington, DC, during her stay there as a fellow at the John W. Kluge Center in 2003/2004 and 2009/2010.
7 The most often used designations are: alphabetika, anabathmoi, anapausima, anastasima, anatolika, apostolika, eothina, katanuktika, koimitentes, makarismata, marturika, nekrosima (it is difficult to say whether any meaningful difference was made, in the early manuscripts, between the two designations that refer to the deceased, respectively for their funeral or for their memorial service – "koimitentes" and "nekrosima:" it will be pointed out here which of the two designations was written down in a certain manuscript), paraklitikos, stavroanastasimon, stavrosima, theotokia, triadika, asomaton (the Bodiless Saints or the Holy Archangels).
8 The designation "МГ" is for majuscule manuscript; "М" – for minuscule, see Νικολόπουλος, Π. Γ. *Ἱερα μονὴ καὶ Ἀρχιεπισκοπὴ Σινᾶ…*; *The New Finds…*, p. 79.
9 There is no cited rubric about this manuscript in *The New Finds…,* p. 142.
10 Gehin, P., Frøyshov, S. Nouvelles decouvertes…, p. 179.
11 Nikiforova, A. The Tropologion Sin. gr. NE/МГ 56-5…, p. 158. About this manuscript, see also: Кривко, Р. Синайские унциальные гимнографические сборники и их значения для славянской традиции. – In: *Jews and Slavs*, vol. 20. Jerusalem and Sofia, 2008, 317–339 (с. 317–318, 324); idem. Славянско-синайские гимнографические параллели. *–Вестник ПСТГУ III: Филология*. Вып. 1 (11), 2008, 56–102 (с. 59).
12 This memory is missing in the contemporary Orthodox calendar.
13 Nikiforova, A. The Tropologion…, p. 166.
14 Ibidem.
15 If we take into consideration the theory of S. Frøyshov about the existence of a "global Tropologion" with eight mode successions, we could say that this Tropologion was reduced (see Chapter 1 here).
16 Nikiforova, A. The Tropologion…, p. 182.
17 About this manuscript see Haelst, J. van. Cinq textes provenant de Khirbet Mird. *–Ancient Society*, 22, 1991, 297–317. The information here is according to Troelsgård, C. Songs for the Theotokos…, pp. 16–17.
18 *The New Finds…*, p. 150; see also Кривко, Р. Синайские унциальные…, с. 318; Nikiforova, A. The Tropologion…, p. 158.
19 Кривко, Р. Синайские унциальные…, с. 318; Parenti, S., E. Velkovska. Two Leaves of a Calendar Wtitten in "Mixed" Uncial of the Ninth Century. *–BBGG*, vol. 7, 2010, 297–305 (p. 303).
20 S. Frøyshov believes that this manuscript covers "the Paschal cycle only," see Frøyshov, S. S. Greek Hymnody…, p. 20.
21 Clark, K. *Checklist of…*, p. 9.
22 This is analogous with the various kinds of Sticheraria: Menaion Sticherarion with stichera for the immovable or fixed feasts; Triodion Sticherarion with

stichera for the movable feasts, see Куюмджиева, С. *Стихирарът на Йоан Кукузел. Формиране на нотирания възкресник*. София, 2004, с. 22.
23 Guergova, E. Old Slavic *Menaia*: Structure and Content. – In: *Monastic Traditions*. Selected Proceedings of the Fourth International Hilandar Conference. Ed. by C. Gribble, P. Matejic. Bloomington, Indiana, 2003, 143–153 (p. 146).
24 Никифорова, А. Ю. *Проблема происхождения служебной минеи: структура, состав, месяцослов греческих миней IX-XII вв. из монастыря святой Екатерины на Синае*. Автореферат дисертации. Москва, 2005, с. 10; Никифорова, А. Ю. Рождение Минеи…, 103–122; Никифорова, А. Ю. *Из истории Минеи...*, с. 94–139.
25 Taft, R. Menaion. – *ODB*. Vol. 2. Oxford, 1991, p. 1338.
26 Никифорова, А. Ю. *Из истории...*, с. 4, 93, 94; Idem. Рождение Минеи…, с. 103, 104, 120.
27 The author has studied about 30 Sinai manuscripts according to the Checklist of K. Clark that are designated by him as "Menaion" and available on microfilm.
28 Frøyshov, S. The Early Development…, p. 165.
29 There are two Menaion Tropologia from the eleventh century: Sinai 556 for September – October and Sinai 579 for September. Both of them bear rubrics that call the book "Tropologion." Of all the studied Sinai manuscripts until the thirteenth century according to the Checklist of K. Clark, there are Menaion Tropologia for all months except December and June.
30 Compare Кривко, Р. Синайские унциальные…, с. 329.
31 This opinion was brilliantly defended by the late Bulgarian scholar Stefan Kozhucharov, see Кожухаров, С. Миней. – In: *КМЕ*. Т. II. София, 1995, с. 679.
32 *The New Finds…*, p. 146. R. Krivko has determined the manuscript as Menion and stressed that, despite the rubric, the manuscript's type was "incorrectly" defined as Tropologion: the term "tropologion," according to him, was "polysemantic… it was used for the Menaion up to the thirteenth century", see Кривко, Р. Синайские унциальные…, с. 329. I disagree with such an opinion because, as I have said earlier, the term "Tropologion" is not polysemantic – it is such only in our knowledge of a later practice of determing hymnographic liturgical books (in any case, after the end of the tenth century) when the new books regarding the Tropologion started to be compiled – the Menaion, Triodion-Pentekostarion and the Oktoechos. I shall stress again – the appearance of the latter books was a result of the division of the Tropologion into separate parts.
33 Кривко, Р. Синайские унциальные…, с. 318.
34 The identification was made by A. Nikiforova and told to Krivko, see ibidem, p. 331.
35 *The New Finds…*, p. 141. About this manuscript see also Кривко, Р. Синайские унциальные…, с. 328–329. The author has determined it as a Menaion and, more precisely, as an "additional Menaion" – there were included services that complemented those in the Tropologion МГ 5, but without "replacing" the Tropologion, see ibidem, p. 329. Such a methodological position does not take the genealogical development of the book into account, or its perception as such in the specific historical time.
36 *The New Finds…*, p. 317. In the Greek publication, early manuscripts from the tenth to eleventh centuries are cited, although without initial rubrics. Among them are the following: МГ 15, 7 folia containing stichera, kathismata and prayers; it is not clear to which type of book the fragment belongs; МГ 167 for January… ἐ̓ις τὸ Κύριε ἐκέκραξα, ἦχος δ′ αὐθεντικὸς; it is said to contain "liturgical kanons" – Menaion for January? The designation "authentikos" for authentic mode is revealed in this manuscript (the same designation was pointed out for the manuscript Sinai 212, see Chapter 2 here). The designation "authentic" is rare: in manuscripts from the eleventh century onwards, it is no longer encountered.
37 Момина, М. О произхождении…

38 *Triodion und Pentekostarion*…, S. 44. See also about this manuscript: Попов, Г. Проблеми на химнографското творчество на Климент Охридски. – *Палеобулгарика*, 2, 2008, 3–58. The author calls this manscript "Tropologion", see p. 17.

39 See also about this manuscript: Husmann, H. Ein Syro-Melkitisches…, S. 65.

40 There are kanons by the same George for the Sunday of the Samaritan, Sunday of the Blind, etc., see Попов, Г. Проблеми на химнографското творчество…, pp. 26, 27 and next.

41 Lazarus Saturday and Easter were the two dividing lines of the Triodion. It was divided into two parts: the Lenten Triodion and the Pentekostarion. The observed manuscript is of the former part. The two parts which are divided by Easter, are revealed in the earliest Triodion – the Sinai Greek manuscripts 734–735 from the tenth century. In the greater part of the Slavic manuscripts, the Triodion ends before Palm Sunday, from which the name of the second part of the book originates, see Момина, М. Постная и цветная триод. – В: *Методические рекомендации по описанию славянорусских рукописей для сводного каталога рукописей хранящихся в СССР.* Т. 2, вып. 2. М., 1976, 389–418 (p. 393). See also Schidlovsky, N. A New Folio for Mt. Athos MS Chilandari 307, with some Observations on the Contents of the Slavic Lenten Sticherarion and Pentekostarion. – In: *The Study of Medieval Chant*… 105–123 (p. 116). In a manuscript described by G. Stathis, Panteleimonos 701, Triodion-Pentekostarion of the fifteenth century, the Pentekostarion starts with Lazarus Saturday. The rubric reads on f. 259r: "Pentekostarion with the Holy God, starting with Saturday of St. Lazarus and ending with Sunday of All Saints," see Στατῆ, Γ. Θ. *Τὰ χειρόγραφα Βυζαντινῆς μουσικῆς. Ἅγιον Ὄρος. Κατάλογος περιγράφικος τῶν χειρόγραφων κωδικῶν Βυζαντινῆς μουσικῆς τῶν ἀποκειμένων ἐν ταῖς βιβλιοθηκαῖς τῶν ἱερῶν Μονῶν καὶ Σκήτων τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὄρους. Ἀθῆναι.* Τ. Β, 1976, s. 173.

42 See Baldovin, J. F. A Lenten Sunday Lectionary in Fourth Century Jerusalem – In: *Time and Community. In Honor of T. Talley*. Ed. by J. N. Alexander. Washington, DC, 1990, 115–122.

43 Ch. Renoux studied one of the earliest copies of the Georgian *Iadgari* in the manuscript Tbilisi H-2123. He determined it as a "hymnal of the St. Saba's monastery." Renoux fully described the Triodion services included from Lazarus Saturday until the Pentekost. The order of the services is as follows: Sixth Saturday – of Lazarus: Vespers – ps. 140; Orthros – kanon (odes 7, 8 and 9), ps. 148; liturgy – hymns for the Entrance, psalms (29:4 and 29:2), Alleluia (ps. 22:3), hymn for the saint of the day; hypakoe. **Palm Sunday**: Vespers – ps. 140; Orthros – kanon (with all nine odes), ps. 148, lithy (procession); liturgy – hymn for the Entrance, psalms (97:8 and 97:1), Alleluia (ps. 8:2), hymn for the saint of the day with Alleluia; Vespers – ps. 140, hymn of prayer, psalms (71:18–19 and 71:1); hypakoe for Palm Sunday. **Holy/Great Week. Monday**: Orthros – triodion kanon (odes 1, 8 and 9), ps. 148; Vespers – ps. 140, hymn, psalms (64:6, 64:2). **Tuesday**: Orthros – triodion kanon (odes 2, 8 and 9), ps. 148; Vespers – ps. 140, hymn "de la priere," psalms (24 and 24:2); hypakoe for Great Tuesday. **Wednesday**: Orthros – triodion kanon (odes 3, 8 and 9), ps. 148; Vespers – ps. 140, hymns, psalms (40:7 and 40:2); hypakoe for Great Wednesday. **Thursday**: Orthros – triodion kanon (odes 4, 8 and 9), ps. 148; Vespers – ps. 140, hymns, psalms (54:22, 2); liturgy – hymn for the Entrance, psalms (22:5 и 22:1), Alleluia, hymns for the saint of the day, etc.; hypakoe (greater in number than during the other days), alternating with psalms (40:2, 108:2, 68:2, 34:1, 21:2, 40:10). **Friday**: Orthros – triodion kanon (odes 5, 8 and 9), psalms (93:21, 148, 1:1, 2:1, 3:2, 4:2, 5:2, 6:2 – up to ps. 12:2); Vespers – hymns and psalms. **Saturday**: Orthros – beatutides, four kanon odes (odes 6, 7, 8 and 9), ps. 148; hypakoe for Great

Saturday; Vespers – hymns and psalms (64:2), 64:3, 102:14), hymn for the saint of the day along with Alleluia. **Easter**: liturgy – hymn for the Entrance, psalm (117:24 and 25), Alleluia, hymn for the saint of the day with Alleluia; Vespers – ps. 140, hymn and psalms; hypakoe for Sunday. **New Sunday**: Vespers – ps. 140; Orthros – full kanon (all nine odes), ps. 148; liturgy – hymn for the Entrance, psalms, hymn for the saint of the day, doxology; Vespers – ps. 140 and 149:1, 2; hypakoe for the New Sunday. **Paralytic Sunday**: Vespers – ps. 140, 6:3 and 7, Alleluia, ps. 92:1, hymns for the saint. **Thursday of the third week (after Easter)**: Vespers – ps. 140; Orthros – ps. 148; liturgy – ps. 8:3 and 2, Alleluia, hymn for the saint. **April 23**: Vespers – ps. 140; Orthros – hymn, full kanon (all nine odes), ps. 148; liturgy – hymn, psalms and Alleluia. **The Elevation of the Holy Cross** (S.K.: **May 7**): Vespers – ps. 140, hymn; Orthros – full kanon (all nine odes), ps. 148; liturgy – hymn for the Entrance, psalms, hymn for the saint. **The Ascension**: Vespers – ps. 140; Orthros – full kanon (all nine odes), ps. 148; liturgy – hymn for the Entrance, psalms and Alleluias, hymn for the saint; hypakoe for the Ascension. **The Sixth week: the healing of the Blind man from Silo** (?): liturgy – ps. 35, Alleluia, hymn for the saint. **Pentekost**: Vespers – ps. 140, 142:10; Orthros – full kanon (all nine odes), ps. 148; liturgy – hymn for the Entrance, psalms, Alleluia, hymn for the saint with Alleluia, psalms and hymn for the saint; hypakoe for the Pentekost, see Renoux, Ch. L'Hymnaire de Saint-Sabas (Ve-VIIIe siecle): le manuscrit Georgien H-2123. I. Du samedi de Lazare a la Pentecote. – *PO*, 50, fasc. 3, 2008, 283–496.

44 The names of the days are further transliterated.

45 According to M. Yovcheva, who considers the weekly cycle for Wednesday in the Slavic Oktoechos, there was a cycle of prayer kanons for the Theotokos in all eight modes. The author says that at present parallels of these kanons have not been discovered in Byzantine hymnographic books, see Йовчева, М. Солунският Октоих…, с. 132.

46 The manuscript has been discussed by the Russian researchers O. Krasheninnikova and I. Lozovaja. Both of them have determined it as "Paraklit" (Parakletike) because of the kanons for the weekdays included, see Крашенинникова, О. Ранневизантийские источники славянского Октоиха XIII–XIV вв. – В: *Гимнология*, вып. 1. Москва, 2000, 114–123. Krasheninnikova used this manuscript as an argument for her thesis that the development of the book of the "Paraklit" was on a path towards increasing the kanons for each day of the week, see also Лозовая, И. О система пения седмичных канонов Октоиха в ранней литургической традиции. – В: *Гимнология*, вып. 4. Москва, 2003, 52–68. Lozovaja believes that all kanons for weekdays might be considered "prayer kanons," because this liturgical term was put in the initial rubric of the manuscript and preceded the designations of the weekly kanons: the term has not been used with them. According to Lozovaja, this could mean that the designation "paraklitikos" could be considered a common designation for the weekly kanons of all commemorations, see op. cit., pp. 56–57.

47 *The New Finds…*, p. 188.

48 I had the rare opportunity to work with the Vatican manuscripts on microfilm twice in the Vatican Microfilm Library at St. Louis University in St. Louis, Missouri, USA – in 2005–2006 and 2012. The microfilm library is located in the main university library, the Pius XII Memorial Library. I would like to express my warmest gratitude to Dr. David Murphy, director of the Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies at St. Louis University in St. Louis for inviting me as a researcher and lecturer. I would also like to thank the whole team at the Vatican Microfilm Library, led by Dr. Gregory Pass, for their courtesy and for arranging excellent working conditions during my stay there. St. Louis is the largest city in the state of Missouri. It was named after Louis

IX, the thirteenth-century French king. The city is also one of the largest in the Mid-West and is situated where the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers meet. This area became part of the Untied States in the early ninteenth century when President Mr. Thomas Jefferson purchased the territory of Louisiana to the west of the Mississippi from Emperor Napoleon I and began the western expansion of the United States. Until the beginning of the twentieth century, St. Louis was the fourth-largest US city. It is also known as "The Gate" between East and West. About the manuscripts in the Vatican Microfim Library, see *Guide to Microfilms of Vatican Library Manuscript Codices Available for Study in the Vatican Film Library at St. Louis University*. Compiled by B. J. Chanell, L. J. Daly, and T. G. Tolles, St. Louis, 1993. Under the direction of C. J. Ermatinger. The greater part of the Vatican manuscripts was written in Southern Italy, *Magna Graecia*, or in the Grottaferrata monastery near Rome. In comparison with manuscripts written in the capital, the Vatican manuscripts display characteristics that are typical for a "marginal" regional culture: they have preserved archaic features, see Куюмджиева, С. Бележки и коментари за някои ранни химнографски ръкописи от Ватикана. – В: *Богослужебните книги – познати и непознати*. София, 2008, 43–155.

49 In the Inventory of *Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae*, the manuscript is dated from the twelfth century, see *Inventory of Microfilms and Photographs in the Collection of Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae* (Institute for Greek and Latin, University of Copenhagen). Compiled by C. Troelsgård, 1992.

50 Devreese, R. Codices Vaticani graeci. T. 3. Codices 604–866. Vaticana, 1950, 286–287. The parameters about the kind of the material and the size of the manuscript are given only for those manuscripts here, for which data were found in the catalogues used.

51 G. Bertoniere suggests that the manuscript was at the Vienna National library before being inventoried in 1727, see Bertoniere, G. The Sundays of Lent…, p. 154. In the Inventory of *Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae*, it is pointed out that the likely writer of this manuscript was Nilus the Second from Grottaferrata.

52 M. Momina and N. Trunte have cited these inscriptions, but on the wrong folia – 118r and 228r, see *Triodion und Pentekostarion*…, S. 44.

53 Leontos is the Emperor Leo VI the Wise, who was author of many stichera, among which are the eleven resurectional Gospel stichera for Sunday Orthros (ἑωθηνα).

54 G. Wolfram cites them as for the fourth week of Lent; the third Sunday is devoted to the Cross: the stichera are related to the topic of Wednesday, the day when the Holy Cross is celebrated, see Wolfram, G., ed. Sticherarium Antiquum Vindobonense. – *MMB*, vol. 10. Wien, 1987, pp. 155–222.

55 R. Krivko wrongly stated that Vat. gr. 771 is the "only" uncial Byzantine manuscript in which there is an "archaic" order of the chants regarding the Slavic manuscripts, namely: "kanon – kathismata – stichera," see Кривко, Р. Синайские унциальные…, с. 321.

56 According to G. Bertoniere the same kanon is prescribed for the second Sunday in the Evergetis Typikon. Bertoniere finds it in various manuscripts from Grottaferrata and also in the Slavic Triodion, Sinai Slav. 23, see Bertoniere, G. The Sundays of Lent…, p. 65.

57 According to Bertoniere, there was no unity regarding the kanon for the fifth Sunday of Lent: various kanons could be found for this Sunday. Vat. gr. 771 is unique in terms of the Great kanon by Andrew of Crete included in it for the same Sunday, see Bertoniere, G. The Sundays…, p. 89.

58 Карабинов, И. *Постная триод*. Санкт-Петербург, 1910, с. 122.

59 About the kanons in this manuscript designed for Sundays after Pascha, see also Попов, Г. Проблеми на химнографското творчество…, p. 19 and next.

60 On Wednesday of the fourth week after Easter, *Mesopentikostis* is celebrated; it is one of the great feasts for which a kanon by Andrew of Crete was created, compare with the contemporary Orthodox calendar.
61 Both manuscripts, Sinai gr. 734 and 735, are identified as belonging to one book, see Bertoniere, G. The Sundays…, pp. 24, 30, 159. The author of this study has worked with the microfilm of these manuscripts. About the statement that the Sinai Triodion was written in Jerusalem, see Follieri, E., Strunk, O., eds. Triodioum Athoum. Cod. Monastery Vatopedi 1488. – *MMB*, IX. Copenhagen, 1975, p. 33.
62 Момина, М. О произхождении…, 112–121.
63 Ibidem.
64 Bertoniere, G. The Sundays…, p. 24.
65 About these documents, see: Bertoniere, G., The Historical Development…, pp. 8–12; Baldovin, J. F. The Urban Character…, p. 67; Leeb, H., Die Gesänge…, S. 28; Момина, М., О произхождении…, 112–121.
66 The inscription in this manuscript with the year of its writing is on f. 307v. The name of the writer is also mentioned: “the sinful Joseph.” There are notated stichera idiomela on f. 131r and 243v in archaic palaeobyzantine notation *Coislin*. Their identification shows that they are for August 6, the Transfiguration of Our Lord. It is possible that they were written later but this remains disputable.
67 M. Skabalanović and A. Baumstark stated that Theodore the Studite and his fellows in the Sinai monastery, along with the monks from the Italo–Greek monasteries, “imitated” genres and structures established by the hymnographers from St. Sabas monastery; they revised their books in order to achieve what the Sabaites like Kosmas and John had done as closely as possible, see Скабаланович, *Толковый Типикон...*, вып. 1, с. 395–396; Baumstark, A. Denkmäler der Entstehungsgeschichte des byzantinischen Ritus. – *OC*, 3e Série, II, 1927, S. 22–23.
68 He is known in Slavic as Bagrjanorodni. The photagogika – as an Emporor’s work – were disseminated very quickly in Constantinople. They are linked to the eleven Gospel stichera and are still known as exaposteilaria. A unique cycle of eleven notated eksaposteilaria is that of a manuscript from the library of the Archbishopric in Cypros, Musikos 39, from about mid-eleventh century, see Troelsgård, C. An Early Constantinopolitan Sticherarion MS Leukosia Archbishopric of Cyprus, Musikos 39, and Its Notated Exaposteilaria Anastasima. – In: *Palaeobyzantine Notations*, 2. Ed. by G. Wolfram. Hernen, 1999, 159–173.
69 Попов, Г. Акростих в гимнографическом творчестве учеников Кирилла и Мефодия. – В: *Древнерусская литургическая поэзия XIII Международный съезд славистов* (Любляна, 15–21 август 2003). Тематический блок № 14. Доклады. София, 2003, 30–55.
70 G. Bertoniere established, for instance, that the kanon for the fourth Sunday of Lent, *Λογε Θεω*, had a regional usage in Grottaferrata because it was found in four manuscripts, one of which is Vat. gr. 771, written, as he believes, in this monastery, see Bertoniere, G., The Sundays…, p. 88.
71 Попов, Г. Из текстологическата проблематика на славянския триод (Новооткрити творби на Константин Преславски). – В: *Славянска палеография и дипломатика.* Т. 1. София, 1980, 72–86 (с. 80–83). G. Popov established the same claim about the pentekostarion cycle with the triodia kanons added by St. Clement of Ochrid. He also established that the cycles of Joseph and Theodore Studite remained after the mid-tenth century: eventually the triodia kanons by Clement of Ochrid and by the other Old-Bulgarian authors dropped out, see Попов, Г. Цит. съч.; see also: Попов, Г. Акростих в гимнографическом…, 30–55 and the cited literature there; Bertoniere, G., The Sundays…, p. 143.
72 G. Bertoniere pointed out that the stichera idiomela were grouped together at the beginning of the manuscript, but he did not point out the *theta* notation,

see Bertoniere, G. The Sundays…, p. 65. The manuscript is not listed in the description of the Vatican musical manuscripts from the Vatican by D. Touliatos, see Touliatos-Banker, D. Checklist of Byzantine Musical Manuscripts in the Vatican Library. –*Manuscripta*, 31, 1987, N 1, 22–28.

73 Кожухаров, С., Нотни начертания в Орбелския триод. – *БЕ*, 4, 1974, 324–344; idem. Палеографски проблеми на тита-нотацията в средновековните ръкописи от XII–XIII век. – В: *Славянска палеография и дипломатика*. Том 1. София, 1980, 228–247; Йовчева, М. Композиция на неделните служби в Солунския октоих. – *Палеобулгарика*, 4, 1997, 37–72; idem. Новооткрити химнографски произведения на Климент Охридски в октоиха. – *Палеобулгарика*, 3, 1999, 3–25.

74 The comparison is according to manuscript Theol. gr. 136, a Sticherarion from the beginning of the twelfth century from the Vienna National library, see Wolfram, G., ed. Sticherarium…

75 Bertoniere, G. The Sundays…, p. 158.

76 The data about him is quite limited, see *ODB*. Vol. 3, p. 1880.

77 Michal also could have been some local author from Grottaferrata, but it is very likely that he was Michael Synkellos who was born in Jerusalem about 761 and died at the Hora monastery in Constantinople on January 4 846. Around 786 he became a monk at the Lavra "St. Sabas." By 811 he had become synkellos to the Jeusalem patriarch (synkellos means that he lived along with the patriarch and shared his cell; he could have been his adviser or adviser to the bishop; successor to the patriarchal throne; until the tenth century the title "sinkellos" was given to priests and deacons who specialized in questions of administration and ecclesiastical law). In about 815 Patriarch Thoma sent Michael to Rome, where political and theological disputes were waged. In 843 Michael became synkellos to patriarch Methodios. He wrote homilies, encomia for various saints, liturgical poems, a poem for the restoration of images, treatise for the syntax, etc., see *ODB*, vol. 2, pp. 1369–1370. The Easter kanon in this manuscript could be by Michael Synkellos. A kanon with the same heirmos in the same mode, 1, is encountered in manuscript Saba 83, a Heirmologion from the eleventh–twelfth century in archaic *Coislin* notation which was converted into middlebyzantine around the fourteenth century. In the latter manuscript, the kanon is included in the akolouthia of St. Apostle Luke, see about this kanon in Raasted, J., ed. Hirmologium Sabaiticum Codex Monasterii S. Sabbae 83. – In: *MMB*. Serie Principale. Vol. 8/1. Copenhagen, 1968, p. 54.

78 See about him in *ODB*, vol. 3, p. 2011. The kanon for the same Saturday is ascribed to Marko, Kosmas and Andrew.

79 See about him also in *ODB*, vol. 2.

80 Respectively, manuscripts N 38 from the library of the Scientific Archive of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences and N 933 from the National library "Sts. Cyril and Methodios" in Sofia. About these manuscripts, see Петров, С., Х. Кодов. Старобългарски музикални паметници. София, 1973, с. 113–129.

81 Raasted, J. A Primitive Palaeobyzantine Notation. – *Classica and Medieavalia*, 23, 1962, 302–310; Кожухаров, С. Палеографски проблеми на тита-нотацията…, 228–247.

82 Strunk, O. The Notation of the Chartres…, p. 108.

83 About this see Nardini, L. Aliens in Disguise …, p. 163.

84 *The New Finds…*, p. 173.

85 The manuscript is under number 253 in the description of V. Beneshević, see Бенешевич, В. Н. *Описание греческих рукописей монастыря святой Екатерины на Синае*. Санкт Петербург, 1911, с. 134.

86 St. John Prodromos, or the Baptist.

87 *The New Finds…*, p. 163.

88 Ibidem, p. 181.

89 See the following descriptions: Devreese, R. *Codices Vaticani graeci…* T. 3, 286–287; Giannelli, C. *Codices Vaticani graeci. Codices 1485–1683.* Rome, 1950; и Canart, P. *Codices Vaticani graeci. Codices 1745–1962.* Part 1. Vaticana, 1970; *Codices olim Basiliani seu Collegii S. Basilii de Urbe, nunc. Vat. Gr. 1963–2123. Inventarium et index rerum confecta annis 1697–1699* [Sala Cons. Mss.44]; *Codices Vaticani Graeci 1963–2053, seu pars codicum olim Collegii S. Basilii de Urbe Inventarium post annum 1786 confectum* [Sala Cons. Mss. 326]; *Inventarium codicum Graecorum Bibliothecae Vaticanae a 1501 ad 2402 auspice Leone XIII P.O.M., I.B.card. Pitra, S.R.E. Bibliothecario confectum a I. Cozza Lizi Abate s. Mariae Cryptaeferratae, Scriptore Bibl. Vaticanae* [Sala Cons. Mss. 324]; Olivier, J.-M. *Repertoire des bibliotheques et des catalogues de manuscrits grecs de Marcel Richard*, 3rd ed. Corpus Christianorum. Turnhout, 1995 (no. 848, 849, 850). K. and S. Lake determined the type of Vat. gr. 2008 as Menologion, see Lake, K., S. *Dated Greek Minuscule Manuscripts to the Year 1200*, eds. Boston, Mass., 10 vols., 1934–1945. Vol. 8: Manuscripts in Rome Part II. Boston, Mass., 1937, p. 9, p. 301. I. Schiro determined it as a Sticherarion with a fragment with kontakia, see Schiro, I. Analecta hymnica graeca e codicibus eruta Italiae inferioris. 13 vols. Rome, 1966–1983: vol. V Canones Ianuuarii, 1971, p. VI.

90 See Ангелов, Б. Старобългарски текстове. – *Известия на Архивния институт при БАН*, 1, 1957, 267–303.

91 The incipit is given in Follieri, H. Initia Hymnorum ecclesiae Graecae. – *Studi e testi*, 214, vol. IV, 1963, p. 360. It is cited there according to the following sources: MR I 67, II 27, IV 352, V 129 (Menaion for the entire year in 6 volumes, Rome, 1888–1901); MV I 38, III 15, VIII 78, IX 69 (Menaia in 12 volumes, Venice, 1895); NC 206; Anth I υνε, III μ (Anthologion, 1738); PAS II 180 (Pitra, Analecta, I-IV, 1876–1884); EE 106 (Eustradiates, Hirmologion, 1932); GIB 35; BBG n.s. 6 (1952) 41; Bes 2 (1897) 367; Eph 36 (1937) 292, 37 (1938) 271, 471, 38 (1939) 99, 169, 414, 39 (1940) 127, 47 (1948) 223, 48 (1949) 63, 49 (1950) 221, 51 (1952) 30; NS 30 (1935) 148, 277, 280, 32 (1937) 90, 91, 43 (1948) 272.].

92 *Μηναῖα τοῦ ὅλου ἐνιατοῦ*. Ρώμη· Τόμος Α΄, 1888, σ. 67; τ. Β΄, 1889, σ. 27; τ. Δ΄, 1898, σ. 352; τ. Ε΄, 1899, σ. 129. The entire heirmos is in vol. IV: *Τῷ οδηγήσαντι πάλαι τὸν Ἰσραὴλ φεύγοντα ἐκ τῆς δουλείας τοῦ Φαραώ, καὶ ἐν ἐρήμῳ ἐκ θρέψαντι, μελῴδημα ἐπινίκιον ἄσωμεν ὡς λυτρωτῇ ἡμῶν Θεῷ ὅτι δεδόξασται.*

93 Follieri, E., I. Dujćev. Un' acolutia inedita per I martiri di Bulgaria dell' anno 813. – *Byzantion*, 33, 1964, fasc. 1, 71–107. About this kanon, see also Гюзелев, В. Студийският манастир и българите през средновековието. – В: *Зборник радова Византолошког института*, XXXIX. Београд, 2001/2002, 53–67.

94 Before that, for January 17, the Feast of St. Antony the Great, a second kanon is given, which is marked as ἕτερος ("other") kanon paraklitikos for the Venerable One." In the kanon for January 21, the feast of St. Neophit the Great Martyr, the ninth ode contains an acrostic with the name of Joseph (18r-v). For April 3, there are two commemorations – the Venerable Abbot Nikita and the Venerable Joseph the Hymnographer; however, Joseph is celebrated on April 4. For April 13, the Roman Pope Martin is commemorated with a kanon by Joseph; the feast of Pope Martin of Rome is celebrated on April 14.

95 K. & S. Lake. *Dated Greek Minuscule…*, pl. 550. The characteristics given about this manuscript there are as follows: *Menologion*. Ink ranges from dark brown to black and bright red. The initial letters and small ornaments are written in the same ink as the text. The initial letters are decorated with bright and dark red, green and blue. The *colophon* is written in one of the same handwritings and using the same ink found in the main text. It is located at the end of

the original part of the manuscript. Folia 172r-176v are written in a different handwriting, most likely contemporary with the first, since this same hand has entered inscriptions in the margins of the manuscript written in the first handwriting, and the color of the ink in the ornaments and the green decorations is identical. Lake and Lake provide illustrations on f. 125r, 173r and 171v of the manuscript (pp. 548–550). They published the inscription without accent marks in the text, which are in fact written out in the manuscript.

96 Ibidem, p. 9.

97 K. Thodberg determined the manuscript as belonging to the "short psaltikon style," see Thodberg, C. Der byzantinische…, S. 17.

98 Devreese dates it from the thirteenth century, see Devreese, *Codices Vaticani graeci*. T. 2…, pp. 21–23; K. Thodberg dates it from the thirteenth–fourteenth century, which, according to the notation, seems more likely, see Thodberg, C. Der Byzantinische…, S. 9–22; D. Touliatos-Banker also dates it from the thirteenth–fourteenth century, see ToulIatos-Banker, D. Checklist…, p. 25.

99 Raasted, J. A Primitive…, pp. 302–303.

100 Raasted, J. The Hagiopolitis in 15th Century Italy. A Note on Manuscript Terminology. – *BBGG*, pp. 195–196. In this article, Raasted focuses on the designation "hagiopolites," which he found in the descriptions of several Southern Italian manuscripts dating from 1457 to 1458 during an expedition to the Southern Italian monasteries of *Magna Graecia*. The report of this expedition was published in 1960 in *Studi e Testi*. In this report, the attribution "hagiopolites" is also cited in a manuscript from the monastery of St. John Theristis, from where the Vat. gr. 2008 also originated. According to Raasted, Tropologia were so called in order to differentiate them from Menaia, Triodia, Pentekostaria and so on, which soon came to replace them. P. Jeffery cites the manuscript according to the information of J. Raasted. He describes it as a Menaion for December through February, but emphasizes that it has been identified as a Tropologion by Raasted (in fact, Raasted designates it as a Tropologion, according to the inscription left in the manuscript, which is cited in Lake). Jeffery does not mention the notated chants in the manuscript, see: Jeffery, P. The Earliest Oktoechoi…, p. 188. In the inventory list of microfilms and photocopies in the collection of *Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae*, housed in the Institute for Greek and Latin at the University of Copenhagen, Vat. gr. 2008 figures as a *Menaion* from 1101 to 1102 in *theta* notation, see *Inventory of Microfilms and Photographs in the Collection of Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae*…: Manuscripts from Vatican.

101 Димитрова, М. Тита-нотацията във византийски и славянски ръкописи (XI–XIII век). –*БМ*, 3–4, 2007, 31–45.

102 Touliatos-Banker, D. Checklist…, pp. 22–28.

103 The comparison is with the manuscript Theol. gr. 136, a Sticherarion from the beginning of the twelfth century at the Vienna National Library. For more on it, see Wolfram, G., ed. Sticherarium…, pp. 155–222.

104 According to O. Strunk, the sign is also found in archaic *Coislin* notation, for example in the so-called Menaia from Carbone, written in Southern Italy, see Strunk, O. Specimina Notationum Antiquiorum. – In: *Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae*, vol. VII. Hauniae, 1965; see there the Grottaferrata manuscript, Badia graeca Δ. a. 14, a *Menaion* from the eleventh century.

105 Floros, C. *Universale Neumenkunde*. 3 Bde. Kassel, 1970. Bd I, S. 252–254.

106 According to C. Floros, this sign is found in both *Coislin* and *Chartres* sources; however, the way it is graphically written out is different in the two systems. The sign is not found in the earliest preserved neumatic manuscripts: it is found for the first time in those from the *Coislin* IV and, according to C. Floros' semiographic-paleographic studies, is one of the characteristics of this stage. It is also found in

the so-called Menaia from Carbone, which are notated in *Coislin* IV, see Floros, C. *Einführung in die Neumenkunde*. Heinrichshofen, 1980, p. 58.

107 The treatise observes the late stage of palaeobyzantine music – *Coislin* IV–VI according to the clasification of C. Floros, see Floros, C. *Universale…*, B. 1, S. 151–152.

108 *Kouphisma*, as a rule, is placed above the penultimate syllable or above the two final syllables of a given phrase (the opposite of *paraklitike*, which is written at the beginning of phrases): it fulfills a cadential function. Independent *kouphisma* in the Vatican manuscript can be found above both medial and phrase-final syllables. It demands that the phrase be performed not with a full voice, but with a lighter one. In the Russian neumatic lists, *kouphisma* is found under the name "klyuch" ("key"), see Floros, C. *Universale…*, B. I, S. 163–164.

109 According to C. Floros, *kylisma* in *Coislin* originates from *tinagma* in *Chartres*, ibidem. p. 241.

110 It is not found in either Lavra Gamma 67, or in Late Byzantine neumatic lists. The etymology of its name is "to descend." Koukouzeles' Didactic poem indicates that the sign requires a stepwise descent from *d* to *g*. It has entered the fund of palaeobyzantine and Old Slavic notations. It is not included in the fund of mid- and latebyzantine notation: its functions there were taken over by *hiporoi*. An identical symbol is found in the Blagoveshtensky kondakar, see Floros, C. *Universale…*, S. 99. In Strunk's publication it is discovered in sources with archaic *Coislin* (Grottaferrata, Badia graeca Δ. a. 14, eleventh century) and in relatively and fully developed *Coislin* (Grottaferrata, Badia graeca Δ. a. 15, eleventh century), see these manuscripts in: Strunk, O. Specimina…

111 A sign made up of *petaste* and *katabasma*. It represents a stenographic symbol for a four-tone descending melodic figure. In Strunk's publication it is found in Menaia from Carbone in archaic *Coislin* (Grottaferrata, Badia graeca Δ. a. 14, eleventh century) and in relatively full and fully developed *Coislin* (Grottaferrata, Badia graeca Δ. a. 15, eleventh century), see Strunk, O. Specimina…

112 In the neumatic list in the manuscript Lavra Γ. 67, it appears under the name *pelaston* and with a somewhat different graphic.

113 There the sign is represented in two melodic formulas, the second being an expanded variant on the first. Both formulas intoned the basic tone of a given chant. In middle and latebyzantine notation, the sign is no longer found – clearly once a series of signs with an earlier stenographic function was written out "analytically" in full, their use as stenographic symbols in later manuscripts became superfluous and they were eliminated. Floros examines it as part of the class of simple symbols. In his opinion, in later notational stages *sirma* transformed into *hiporoi*, a sign which must be sung on two descending seconds, see Floros, C. *Universale…*, S. 148.

114 It takes its name from the Greek letter "psi" (ψ).

115 Signs designating movement in leaps, for example an ascending third or fifth.

116 Floros, C. *Universale…*, S. 168. The sign is written in *Chartres* II (see the manuscripts Lavra Γ. 12, Γ. 72, eleventh century in Floros, UNK, vol. III, facs. 19, 22); *Chartres* III (manuscript Lavra Γ. 67, Floros, vol. III, facs. 25). In Strunk, it is found in sources with archaic *Coislin* (the manuscript Grottaferrata Badia graeca Crypt. Δ. a. 14, eleventh century); in comparatively full and fully developed *Coislin* (Grottaferrata, Badia graeca Crypt. Δ. a. 15, eleventh century); and relatively fully developed *Chartres*, see Strunk, O. Specimina… In the *Chartres* sources the sign is most often found by itself and signifies an ascending movement or leap (from a second to a seventh). In *Coislin* and in middlebyzantine sources, it is never found alone – it is always accompanied by other signs, see Floros, C. *Universale…*, B. 1, S. 179.

117 The sign is written with two *diple* one above the other in the sticheron *Τὸ κατ' εἰκονα* for January 17, echos plagal 2 and *nenano*; the syllable after the sign, which is the final syllable in the phrase, has *theta*.

118 Floros, C. *Universale…*, B. 1, S. 247. It can be found in sources in *Chartres* II (Lavra Γ. 12, eleventh century, see Floros, C. *Universale…*, vol. III, facs. 20; Lavra Γ. 72, eleventh century, facs. 22); an identical sign is also found in the Blagoveschtensky Kondakar, f. 99 in Floros; *Chartres* III (Lavra Γ. 67, facs. 25); *Chartres* IV (Lavra D. 28 from the twelfth century, facs. 66). In Strunk, it is found in sources with both relatively and fully developed *Chartres* notation, see Strunk, O. Op. cit., p. 1219. In Floros, it is also discovered in Russian kondakars.

119 PalikarovaVerdeil, R. La musique Byzantine chez les Bulgares et les Russes (du IXe au XIVe siècle). – *MMB*, Subsidia, III. Copenhagen, 1953; Raasted, J. Musical Notation and Quasi Notation…, p. 17; Петров, С., Х. Кодов. *Старобългарски музикални...*, с. 149–157; Тончева, Е. Музиката в България през IX-X век. – В: *КМЕ*. Т. II. София, 1995, с. 770.

120 Кожухаров, С. Нотни начертания…, 324–344; idem. Палеографски проблеми…, 228–247; Йовчева, М. Композиция на неделните служби…, 37–72; idem. Новооткрити химнографски произведения…, 3–25.

121 R. Taft also discusses the preservation of an older practice in the *Magna Graecia* in Italy, which was a peripheral region with respect to the capital, Constantinople, within the Byzantine Empire. The Studite tradition was preserved in this region – there is no one manuscript written according to the revised New Sabaite Typikon, see Taft, R. Anton Baumstark's Comparative Liturgy Revisited. – *OCA*, 265, 2001: *Comparative Liturgy Fifty Years after Anton Baumstark (1872–1948)*, 191–232.

122 As it was mentioned, M. Skabalanović and A. Baumstark also point out that Theodore the Studite and his brethren at the Studite Monastery, along with the monks from the Italian–Greek monasteries, "imitated" genres and structures established by the Sabaite hymnographers; they edited their books with an eye to coming as close as possible to what the Sabaites Kosmas and John had achieved, see Скабаланович, М. *Толковый Типикон...* Вып. 1, с. 395–396; Baumstark, A. Denkmäler der Entstehungsgeschichte…, S. 22–23.

123 M. Momina and N. Trunte cite one more manuscript as a Tropologion from the tenth–eleventh century, according to Cardinal Pitra in their study on the Triodion – Corsini. Col. 40. E. 7, cod. 366, see *Triodion und Pentekostarion…*, S. 44–46.

124 K. Troelsgård, discussing the question about the Tropologion, states that until recently "the term Tropologion was seen as a title in four Byzantine liturgical parchment manuscripts dating from the late tenth to the twelfth centuries", see Troelsgård, C. Songs for the Theotokos…, p. 15.

125 Момина, М. О произхождении… In her later work, *Triodion und Pentekostarion…*, Momina also cites Sinai 759 as a Tropologion, see p. 44 there.

6 Was there an Old Slavic Tropologion?

The study of the extant sources bears evidence that the book designated as Tropologion in Greek was in use until about the end of the twelfth century: sources with such designations in Greek are no longer encountered in the thirteenth century. In the Old Bulgarian literature and in the Old Slavic Orthodox one as a whole (first of all Russian and Serbian), a book designated as Tropologion is not known. That does not mean that such a book did not exist or that it was not known in the early Old Bulgarian epoch, especially during the time when the Glagolitic alphabet was in use. Unfortunately, the extant Bulgarian Glagolitic manuscripts are quite scarce, and most of them have been preserved as fragments. The lack of a book with the designation Tropologion in the Old Bulgarian literature provides grounds for assuming that the earliest Old Slavic (Old Bulgarian) extant books reflect a later stage of development of liturgical books, as the Tropologion preceded the emergence of the Menaia, Triodia and Oktoechoi, the hymnographic books that display much of its repertory. This was a stage when the designation Tropologion became superfluous and started to be replaced by these new designations. As these were modern and prestigious at the time, they were obviously accepted into the newly-written Cyrillic literature in an already Christianized Bulgaria, and from there they were disseminated to the other baptized Slavic countries to the north and west. We find these designations everywhere in Russia, Serbia and Wallachia.

Among the criteria for determining a given book as a Tropologion – if there is no special indication of this in its initial rubric or in an inscription – could be its structure or the arrangement of its repertory. The availability of an uninterrupted liturgical order according to the calendar in which the movable feasts are included between the immovable ones after the Hypapante on February 2 (as we have seen, such an order is typical of the earliest hymnographic books), is already a “sign” of a more archaic structure and lends credibility to its definition as a Tropologion. Such books in Slavic will be discussed below according to this criterion.

1 Ilia's book

Manuscript N 131 from the Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts in Moscow (РГАДА, ф. 381, Син. тип.), 147 folia, parchment.[1] The book is considered the oldest Russian hymnographic manuscript that goes back to the oldest period of Slavic literature. Scholars agree that its protograph is South Slavic, that is, Bulgarian, because of the archaisms of the language used in both its vocabulary and its borrowed words.[2] The study of the manuscript shows that its main core was formed as early as the time of the holy brothers Cyril and Methodios in Moravia. Later on in Ochrid, from where – as it is known – many Bulgarian books were conveyed to Russia, Ilia's book was revised in a form close to those, which has come to us.[3] Various texts from the epoch of Cyril and Methodios are revealed in it, including the earliest kanon for St. Cyril the Philosopher.[4] Hence, its main frame reflects a liturgical practice from the end of the ninth or the beginning of the tenth century; its copy which came to us refers to a period as early as the end of the eleventh and until the beginning of the twelfth century.[5]

Nikolaos Trunte and Evgeny Vereshchagin define the manuscript as a Tropologion based on its structure.[6] According to Vereshchagin, the Ilia's book is a "syncretic (Menaion-Triodion) collection" with a "primary structure" that is typical of the Tropologia: short collections compiled for the annual festal cycle in undivided successions, according to both the immovable and movable feasts and representing, respectively, the Menaion and the Triodion sections of the book.[7] The opinion of the two scholars about the type of Ilia's book is contested by Roman Krivko: he considers the term Tropologion to be ambiguous, as it refers to various types of books, and mostly those written until the ninth century and linked to the Palestino-Sinaitic hymnographic school.[8] In the Ilia's book, chants are included for the services of the first six months of the year – from September up to and including February. After the kathismata for Hypapante, the beginning of Lent is noted (f. 122v): "*Въ съб[ота] а҃ нед[еля] поста*"[9] ("On Saturday, the first week of Lent"). The very Lent is missing. R. Krivko believes that either one part or several parts of the manuscript are missing from here. He suggests that the writer had confused the commemoration of Theodore Stratelates with that of Theodore Tyron,[10] and because of that either he or someone else later on tore out the sheets with the "incorrect" service in order to be in harmony with the ordinary practice[11] – a suggestion that can hardly be accepted, as it is not supported by the actual material. Krivko determined the type of the manuscript as a festal Menaion with "extremely short successions": such a Menaion – according to him – was formed on the basis of a "full Byzantine Menaion" (he probably meant the office Menaion).[12]

After the rubric for Lent, three more services for immovable feasts in February follow in sequential order: for the 11th (St. Blaise/Blasius, bishop of Sebastia), 14th (the Assumption of St. Cyril the Philosopher) and 24th (the First and Second Finding of the Honest Head of St. John the Baptist).

After that comes the inscription of the priest Ilia: "*Илия п[и]сал. Бывыи попинъ църкв[е] с[ве]таго възнесения оу братии. Имоволожи п[и]сах. Ту[к] седя*" ("It is written by Ilia. I am a priest at the church of the Holy Ascension. I wrote this at the brothers in Imovolozhi. I am there"[13]). After the inscription, items for another four services are added: for August 15 (the Assumption of the Theotokos), July 24 (Sts. Boris and Gleb, and the protomartyr Christina of Tyre) and for July 20 (the prophet Ilia). The manuscript ends with these memories.

Comment. The indication of the first week of Lent in Ilia's book clearly testifies to the inclusion of services in their traditional liturgical places, as in the books of the Tropologion type – the movable feasts are placed between immovable ones, entering immediately after the Hypapante in an uninterrupted liturgical order. This is the only such indication known in a Slavic manuscript: it remains unique. Its availability provides grounds to assume that there was also a Triodion's section in the South Slavic or Old Bulgarian protograph of Ilia's book. Hence, the most likely protograph of Ilia's book from the end of the ninth through tenth centuries could have been a Tropologion which contained both a Menaion section with immovable feasts and a Triodion section with movable ones.

Vereshchagin stresses that the use of the Tropologion in the Slavic world coincides with the time of the Holy brothers Cyril and Methodios and their disciples. That is why, according to him, the traces of this type of book could be found "in the Slavic West and South."[14] In this sense, he considers Ilia's book an initial stage of the acquisition of South Slavic, i.e., Bulgarian, literary heritage in Russia.[15] The copy of the book that came to us, however, was without a doubt made in Russia. Supporting evidence of that is the inclusion of stichera for the Russian saints Boris and Gleb. Obviously, the writer reacted immediately after the canonization of the two martyrs at the very beginning of the eleventh century. The compilation of the book, according to Vereshchagin, came about through filling out the services and through a selection of the existing books. Eventually the book had expanded so much that it became necessary, as the author suggested, to divide it into two parts: for the first part of the year from September to February (this part has come to us) and for the second part of the year from March to August[16] (this has not come to us, but it is questionable whether such a book was compiled at all).

Apart from the archaisms in terms of the language, structure and repertory in Ilia's book, there are other archaisms that are revealed in it. For instance, it is the only East Slavic liturgical manuscript that was not compiled according to the redaction of the Studite-Aleksios Typikon: the liturgical successions in it do not agree with this redaction.[17] According to Vereshchagin, the copy was made either before the establishment of this Typikon in the Russian church, or in some remote place from Kiev at a time when the new liturgical changes had not yet been accepted – the latter have reached such places more slowly and were thus accepted later.[18] In any case, the disagreement of Ilia's book with the Studite-Aleksios redaction of

the Studite Typikon proves the manuscript's antiquity. It cannot be said, for now, whether the protograph of the book was linked to the pre-Studite redaction of the liturgical Typikon (for instance, an old Jerusalem one to which the Tropologia could be referred) or to some earlier redaction of the initial *Hypotyposis* of Theodore the Studite. It is well known that the liturgical part of the latter has never been discovered – either in its entirety or in fragments.[19]

Chants of the ordinary main genres from an early time are included in the book: kanons by some of the most distinguished men of letters of the Sabaite and the Studite schools (John of Damascus, Kosmas, Steven the Sabaite, Theophanos Graptos, kyr Basil and Joseph the Hymnographer), stichera, kathismata and beatitudes. The latter are most often missing. It has been established that many of these chants were not encountered in manuscripts from the second half of the eleventh century on.[20]

There are five notated chants in the manuscript: two kanons and three stichera.[21] Their study also reveals several archaisms. The neume signs are written by different hands and belong to two different kind of notation – *znamennaja*, analogous to the palaeobyzantine notation *Coislin*,[22] and the quasi-notation *theta*. The first kanon is for September 14, the Elevation of the Cross, in mode 8: all odes of this kanon are notated in *znamennaja* notation.[23] The second one is for the Hypapante in mode 3: the *theta* notation is revealed only in its first ode (118v-119r). The stichera are an idiomelon for January 6, the Epiphany, in mode 2 in *theta* notation (109r); an idiomelon for Hypapante in mode 7, also in *theta* notation (123r); and an automelon for July 24, St. Christina of Tyre, in mode 6 in *znamennaja* notation (143r). The *znamennaja* notation is of its earliest stage and reveals many archaisms. The kanon for the Elevation of the Cross is considered especially unique in this respect: it does not have any parallel in the other notated sources of the early time.[24] Such a mixture of an old Byzantine notation with the quasi-notation *theta* is revealed in manuscripts in Greek from the early Byzantine period, including Tropologia like the Tropologion Vat. gr. 2008 of 1102 (see Chapter 5).[25] It is also revealed in manuscripts in Slavic, like Dragan's Menaion from the second half of the thirteenth century. In Dragan's Menaion, seven entirely notated chants in archaic palaeobyzantine notation are included, as well as some others in *theta* notation, including chants for the services of the two most popular Bulgarian saints, John of Rila and Petka of Tirnovo (known also as Petka of Jasi and of Beograd).[26] Some of the notated chants in this manuscript are also for the Epiphany and Hypapante, as in Ilia's book. It is an interesting fact that in both sources the same notated sticheron in mode 2 is revealed for the Epiphany, though with some differences in the text and in a different notation: *На Йорданстей реце* (*On the river of Jordan*). In chants designated for great feasts, the *theta* signs are put on important words and expressions of meaning that had to be highlighted in order to keep the audience's attention. This obviously became a norm in early manuscripts in which we find the *theta* notation.

In conclusion of the discussion up to here, I should stress that I maintain the opinion of N. Trunte and E. Vereshchagin that the type of Ilia's book could be determined as a Tropologion, or more precisely, it is in all probability a copy of the Tropologion that contained repertory for both immovable and movable liturgical cycles (according to contemporary definitions for both Menaion and Triodion sections).[27] The Tropologion is the hymnographic book that was most widely spread between the seventh/eighth and the twelfth centuries in Palestine, Byzantium, Syria, Georgia, Armenia and – at some stage – in Southern Italy, as well. Ilia's book testifies to an archaic tradition in many aspects – language, structure, repertory, liturgical order, notation, etc. It was its structure that most strongly proved the older compilation of the Tropologion, as we know it from written sources. The specific structure of a given manuscript, service, work, etc. is among the most sustainable parameters of its functioning and transmission over time.[28] It remains an indicator of the most distinctive characteristics of a particular practice in a given school, and also of the entire tradition linked to it and even of the entire type of culture. As a whole, the structure is an expression of memory, the most important element on which the medieval type of culture is based. It protects the process of creating a work or compiling a book, and the ways of their transmission, perception and impact.[29] In all cases, its change marks a particular reformative activity that could have occurred for many reasons, such as liturgical or regional. In the ninth century, when the protograph of Ilia's book was compiled, the liturgical center of the East had moved from Jerusalem (the school of the Sabaites), which until the ninth century was the main legislative liturgical center, to Constantinople (the school of the Studites) where various Typika were already in use, such as the old Jerusalem one (until its new-Sabaitic redaction) and early Studite one.[30]

Ilia's book also testifies to the changes made when the separation of the liturgical festal cycles of immovable, movable and eight-mode successions had already begun, marking the beginning of the formation of the new hymnographic books and, respectively, of the new festal system that we find in the Menaion, Triodion-Pentekostarion and the Oktoechos. And still, the manuscript testifies that some particular chants in the Tropologion were notated – either in its Menaion section, or in its Triodion one, as it is in the two Tropolologia, Vat. gr. 2008 (of the Menaion type) and Vat. gr. 771 (of the Triodion type).

2 Sinai 4/N

A fragment of two folia of the Menaion type from the eleventh–twelfth century, parchment, Glagolitic without Cyrillic inclusions, kept at the library of the Sinai monastery "St. Catherine." It was described by Joannis Tarnanidis in his description of the Sinai Slavic manuscripts newly found in 1975.[31] In this description Tarnanidis determined it as a Tropologion

linked with the time of Sts. Cyril and Methodios. The fragment is close to the Old Bulgarian Glagolitic Sinai Psalter of the eleventh century. The service for the Nativity of St. John Prodromos (June 24) is preserved, as well as a kanon for the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul (June 29). For the Nativity of St. John Prodromos, Tarnanidis reports stichera idiomela for Great Vespers by Andrew of Crete and John the Monk, as well as a kanon with a second ode. There is also a kanon with a second ode for the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul, and this is perhaps one of the earliest recorded kanons in Slavic for the two Apostles. According to Tarnanidis, the manuscript was among the books that were translated by Cyril and Methodios and that they carried with them during their mission in Moravia, because – as he wrote – with such "a kind of **Tropologion** (k. S.K.) or small Menaion, the two brothers could have conducted the services for the various saint's days."[32] Tarnanidis pointed out two special cases in Methodios' Vita when such a book was used: the day of St. Peter and the day of St. Demetrios of Thessaloniki. He does not give, however, any information about the contents of the book. His conclusion is that the fragment Sinai 4/N "bears the clear characteristics of the Ohrid school," and that "one might suppose that it is Clement's (Clement of Ohrid) adaptation and supplementation of the original book, in accordance with the new requirements of the ecclesiastical rite, which in the course of time came to prevail completely."[33] We know of Clement's Vita written by Theophilact of Ohrid that he added what was missing to the Triodion: from New Sunday (the Sunday of St. Thomas) to Pentekost; that is, Clement added the Pentekostarion to the already existent Lenten Triodion.[34] The sources show that the Lenten Triodion was supplemented and worked out prior to the time of Clement by Theodore the Studite, Joseph the Hymnographer and Clement the Studite at the Studite school.

Comment. I. Tarnanidis does not relate any arguments about why he has defined the fragment as a Tropologion. Perhaps the availability of manuscripts of this type in the early Old Bulgarian epoch gave him reasons to assert this. As we have seen, most of the books with rubrics preserved of that time are designated as Tropologia. For hymnographic liturgical books, at least until the twelfth century, this designation has been in general use. The kanons pointed out by Tarnanidis for the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul and St. John Prodromos link this fragment with practices established by the Studite school. They testify to the new trend in the development of the genre of the kanon that is clearly manifested in the works of this school's writers immediately after the iconoclasm; namely, writing kanons devoted to individual saints, unlike in the previous time of St. John of Damascus when kanons were written exclusively for the Lord, the Virgin and common services.[35] The creation of numerous kanons for individual saints in the ninth century was a progressive trend at the time and was acquired by the two Holy brothers Cyril and Methodios, as well. As it is known, the original works that are ascribed to them, according to the sources, are exactly in the genre of the kanon and were devoted to individual saints: Cyril writes a

kanon for St. Clement of Rome, and Methodios writes one for St. Demetrios of Thessaloniki. The two brothers knew the practices of the Studite school very well.[36] Yet, there were many Bulgarian monks at the Studite monastery at its peak by the end of the eighth and the beginning of the ninth century.[37] There is evidence that the Studite monks used the Tropologion as a hymnographic book in their worship, continuing the work of the Sabaites in this respect. It is a well-known fact, for instance, that Theodore the Studite, as a hegumen of the Studite monastery, asked patriarch Thomas of Jerusalem (807–821) to send monks to introduce Sabaite chanting in his monastery.[38] Theodore reminded the arriving monks to bring two specific books with them: one was "The Ladder" (the classical monastic text of St. John of the Ladder of the sixth–seventh centuries that was designed to be read in church during Lent) and the other was the Tropologion.[39]

The two manuscripts discussed give reasons to assume that in the early Old Bulgarian epoch, the Tropologion was familiar as a type of liturgical book in Bulgaria. It seems very likely that it was the hymnographic book that the two Holy brothers Cyril and Methodios knew and used in their worship in the ninth century. Although the division of the repertory of the book was already under way, it was still current at their time under its universal name, Tropologion. Modern hymnographic books (the Menaion, Triodion and the Oktoechos) that we know from the tenth century onwards in Greek, and systematically from the thirteenth century onwards in Slavic with the Cyrillic alphabet, were not yet perceived as separate, independently specialized books, and therefore did not bear such indications. An understanding of them as specialized books was a process that started, in all probability, in the second half of the tenth century and continued until about the twelfth century. The great liturgist R. Taft put their formation within this time period. According to him the Triodion was formed in the tenth century, the Menaion in the eleventh through twelfth centuries and the Oktoechos in the twelfth century.[40]

I will conclude with the following. Having studied some manuscripts in Slavic at the Bulgarian libraries, I came across to one manuscript kept at the library of the Church-Historical and Archival Institute at the Bulgarian Patriarchate in Sofia that turned out to have a preserved archaic structure.[41] I shall present it below.

CHAI (ЦИАИ) N 114 – a festal Menaion of the fifteenth–sixteenth century with services for the Bulgarian saints John of Rila and Petka of Tirnovo. The book starts with September 8, the Nativity of the Theotokos, and according to the church calendar the **immovable feasts** follow. After January 7, the day of St. John Prodromos, a service for Friday Vespers before Meatfare Saturday follows (p. 337). From there on, services for the **movable feasts** of Lent are included: the first Saturday of Lent (of St. Theodore Tyron), the Annunciation on March 25, Saturday of the sixth week of Lent (Lazarus Saturday), Saturday Vespers before Palm Sunday, Great Thursday Vespers, Great Friday, Great Saturday Vespers, Easter; two **immovable feasts** are

included after Easter: April 23, St. George, and May 2, St. Athanasios the Great; these feasts are followed by **movable ones** again: Thursday of the sixth week after Easter; the Ascension, Friday of the seventh week, Sunday of All Saints; following this Sunday is June 29, the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul; then the **immovable feasts** are returned and go according to the calendar until August 15, the Assumption. The manuscript ends with the feast for Assumption.

Comment. It could be seen that the manuscript is compiled in an **uninterrupted liturgical order**: immovable, movable and again immovable feasts alternate in it. Commenting on this fact poses more questions than might now be answered. However, the uninterrupted order in the manuscript discussed is hardly random: the movable feasts are put in their usual liturgical place, as in the early manuscripts, between February and April 23. The study of more manuscripts from the time after the thirteenth century, in order to see how they were compiled, and whether the uninterrupted liturgical order could be found, is urgent. The manuscript discussed, however, could serve as indirect evidence of the storing of knowledge about ancient manuscripts.

Notes

1 See about this manuscript: Trunte, N. Ασατε τω Κυριω ασμα καινον. Vor- und Frühgeschichte der slavischen Hymnographie. – In: *Sakrale Grundlagen slavischer Literaturen.* Herausg. von H. Rothe. Bd. 43. München, 2002, 27–76; Крысько, В. Б. *Ильина книга. Рукопись РГАДА, Тип. 131.* Лингвистическое издание, подготовка греческого текста, комментарии, словоуказатели В. Б. Крысько. Москва, 2005; Верещагин, Е. М. *Ильина книга. Древнейший славянский богослужебный сборник*. Москва, 2006.

2 Верещагин, Е. М. Цит. съч., с. IV, IX, XI; see also Христова-Шомова, И. Новгородските минеи и Зографският миней № 53 (I.e.7). – В: *Пение мало Георгию. Сборник в чест на проф. д.ф.н. Георги Попов*. София, 2010, 117–140.

3 Верещагин, Е. М. Цит. съч., с. X.

4 Ibidem. P. IV.

5 Ibidem, p. X.

6 Trunte, N. Op. cit.; Верещагин, Е. М. Цит. съч., с. XI.

7 Верещагин, Е. М. Цит. съч., с. X–XI. The author, at the same time, stresses that it is difficult to determine the type of Ilia's book in its original compilation. Having in mind the genesis of the manuscript, he believes that it is not correct for the book to be determined as a Menaion. That is why the author chose to use not the term of the type of the book but of its generic term – about the book, see op. cit., p. XV. See also the opinion of K. Stanchev about the type of this manuscript in: Станчев, К. Проблеми на типологията и терминологията на служебните минеи. – В: *Пети достоит. Сорник в памет на Стефан Кожухаров*. София, 2003, 132–142 (с. 138).

8 Кривко, Р. Синайские…, с. 323–326; see also Кривко, Р. Синайско-славянские гимнографические параллели… с. 96.

9 Верещагин, Е. М. Цит. съч., с. XIV, с. 862.

10 The first is celebrated on February 8 and the second – on February 17.

11 Кривко, Р. Синайские…, с. 325–326; see also Кривко, Р. Синайско-славянские гимнографические параллели…, с. 85–89.

12 Ibidem, p. 327. As it was already said, R. Krivko and A. Nikiforova claim that the office Menaion was compiled first. The festal Menaion, according to them, was compiled later – a statement that is not proven by the actual material, see Кривко, Р. Н. Синайско-славянские гимнографические…, с. 101; Nikiforova, A. The Tropologion Sin. Gr. NE/МГ 56-5…, p. 158. The Bulgarian scholar Stefan Kozhuharov convincingly proved that the festal Menaion was originally compiled – the office Menaion was formed later, see Кожухаров, С. Миней. – В: *КМЕ*. Т. 2. София, 1995, с. 679. This is also proved by both the Menaion part in the Iadgari and the Syrian manuscripts: only services for some selected days are included. About the typology of the Menaia with text only, see: Станчев, К. Проблеми на типологията… About the typology of the notated Menaia, see: Димитрова, М. Богослужебната книга миней като музикален извор: гръцки и славянски нотирани минеи от XI-XIII в. – В: *Пети достоит…*, 601–620.

13 Imovolozhi is located in the Tver region in the North-Eastern part of Russia. See about it Крыско, В. Б. Еще раз об Имоволожи. – *Slavica Helsingiensia*, 27. Helsinki, 2006, 222–233.

14 Верещагин, Е. М. Цит. съч., с. 351.

15 Ibidem, p. IX.

16 Ibidem, p. XXXIX.

17 Ibidem, pp. IV, XI. According to the author, such a syncretic book (with both Menaion and Triodion sections) could have existed until the introduction of the Studite-Aleksios redaction of the Studite Typikon in Russia, as far as this redaction does not know a book combining Menaion and Triodion, see ibidem, p. op. XIV. The chants in this type of books, as Vereshchagin stresses, differ from both the Greek originals and their Slavic counterparts, ibidem, p. XI. He also believes that Ilia's book reflects pre-Studite practice, see op. cit., p. 322 (more precisely, it should be pre-Studite-Aleksios practice).

18 Ibidem.

19 See about this: Дмитриевский, А. А. *Описание литургических рукописей, хранящихся в библиотеках православного Востока*. Т. I. *Tupiká*. Ч. 1. *Памятники патриарших уставов и ктиторские монастырские типиконы*. Киев, 1895, с. 224–238.

20 Верещагин, Е. М. Цит. съч., с. IV.

21 About the notation in Ilia's book, see Artamonova, Y. On the Archaic Form of Znamennaya Notation (Neumes in the so-called "Iliya's Book"). – *БМ*, 3–4, 2012, 23–34.

22 Floros, C. *Einführung…,* S. 82.

23 The notation of all odes of the kanons is typical of the Russian practice. In the Balkan Orthodox practice, only the heirmoi of the kanons are notated. Exceptions can be found in some early Byzantine manuscripts, where three odes in the kanons by Kosmas are notated.

24 Artamanova, Y. On the Archaic Form…

25 See Куюмджиева, С. *Ранните осмогласници…*, с. 62–72. About some early manuscripts in both *Coislin* and *Chartres* notation, such as Lavra Г. 67 and Vatopedi 1488, see Strunk, O. Specimina Notationum…, p. 17–20.

26 Entirely notated chants are the following: three refrains to the ninth ode of the kanon for Hypapante (153v); three stichera aposticha – for Antim bishop of Nikomedia on September 3 (3r), for the Epiphany on January 6 in mode 2 (f. 121r) and for the Vespers before Hypapante (151r); and a *doxa* (glory) to the Vespers stichera aposticha for the Prophet Zachariah on September 5 (3v-4r), see Петров, С., Х. Кодов. *Старобългарски музикални паметници…*, с. 149–157. The authors, however, have mistakenly defined the sticheron for the Epiphany as a *doxa* for Circumcision of Jesus on January 1, see op. cit., pp. 155–156. About the *theta* signs

in the service of St. Petka of Tirnovo in the Menaion of Dragan, see Иванов, Й. *Български старини из Македония.* София, 1931, с. 431.

27 The Sticheraria are complete when they are compiled by Menaion, Triodion-Pentekostarion and the Oktoechos. Such Sticheraria are known only according to manuscripts in Greek in the early times. The Sticheraria are incomplete when they are compiled by Menaion only or by the Triodion and/or Pentekostarion. Such Sticheraria are known according to both Greek and Slavic manuscripts. As it was said, they could be determined as Menaion Sticherarion or Triodion/Pentekostarion Sticherarion, see about this Куюмджиева, С. *Стихирарът на Йоан Кукузел…*, с. 22.

28 About this see Nowacki, E. The Distributional Evidence for Orality. – In: *Studies in Medieval Chant and Liturgy in Honour of David Hiley.* Ed. by T. Bailey and L. Dobszay. Ottawa, 2007, 369–383 (p. 380).

29 See about this also McKitterick, R. *The Book of Memory. A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture.* Cambridge, 1990; Idem. *History and Memory in the Carolingian World.* Cambridge, 2004, pp. 2–8.

30 About the early Typika, see Дмитриевский, А. *Описание литургических рукописей…*, с. IX and next.

31 Tarnanidis, I. C. *The Slavonic Manuscripts Discovered in 1975 at St. Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai.* Thessaloniki, 1988, pp. 100–103.

32 Ibidem, p. 102.

33 Ibidem.

34 More about this: Popov Г. Химнографското наследство на св. Климент Охридски. – В: *КМС*, 13. София, 2003, 42–45.

35 See about this: Patterson-Ševćenko. N. Canon and Calender…, 101–114. This trend is definitely seen in the "new" Tropologion, Sinai МГ 56 of the eighth-ninth century. The number of individual saint memories in it is considerably more than that of the common services of the previous time, see Nikiforova, A. The Tropologion…, p. 166.

36 See about this: Kujumdzieva, S. Viewing the Earliest Old Slavic Corpus Cantilenarum. – *Palaeobulgarica*, 2, 2002, 83–101 and the cited literature there.

37 Гюзелев, В. Студийският манастир…, 51–67. The author stresses that the impact of the Studite monastery on the spiritual development of Bulgaria, in terms of regulation of monasteries and monastic life, was great: the early Bulgarian monastic worship followed a tradition that was established in the Studite monastery. An argument for this is the Studite Glagolitic Euchologion of the tenth–eleventh century. There are texts there that were borrowed by the Studite monastic Typikon. The works of the Studites had a strong impact on Old Bulgarian men of letters. The "Testament" of St. John of Rila (+946) proves this. Its study shows that it is very close to both the "Testament of the Reverend and God-Bearing Father and Our Confessor Theodore, hegumen of the Studite monastery" and his "Orders for Brothers," see op. cit., pp. 59–61 and the cited literature there.

38 Thomas, J. The Imprint of Sabaitic Monasticism on Byzantine Monastic Typika. – *OLA*, 98. Leuven, 2001: *The Sabaite Heritage in the Orthodox Church from the Fifth Century to the Present*, 73–83 (p. 75). It is not by chance that some authors call the *Hypotyposis*, the earliest Studite Typikon, recorded by the mid-ninth century, an "amalgam" of both the worship of the Sabaites and at the Great Church "Hagia Sophia" in Constantinople. By the end of the tenth century, it had been revised according to the changes in liturgical practice, see Krausmüller, D. The Monastic Communities of Stoudios and St. Mamas in the Second Half of the 10th Century. – In: *The Theotokos Evergetis…*, 67–85 (p. 68).

39 According to Troelsgård, C. Song for the Theotokos…, p. 15.

40 Taft, R. Menaion. – In: *ODB*… Vol. 2, p. 1338; Idem. Triodion. – In: *ODB*… Vol. 3, pp. 2118–2119; Taft, R. and N. Patterson-Ševćenko. Oktoechos. – In: *ODB*… Vol. 3, p. 1520; Taft, R. The Synaxarion of Evergetis in the History of Byzantine Liturgy. – In: *The Theotokos Evergetis and Eleventh-Century Monasticism*. Ed. by M. Mullett and A. Kirby. Holywood, 1994, 274–293 (p. 287). In this sense, there is no reason to date the formation of the office Menaion to the ninth century, as R. Krivko and A. Nikiforova have done, see footnote 12 above.

41 See the following manuscripts: (1) of the National library in Sofia "Sts. Cyril and Methodios" – NN 895, fourteenth century; NN 122, 123, 522, 523, 539, fifteenth century; (2) of the Church-Historical and Archival Institute at the Bulgarian Patriarchate – N 316, thirteenth–fourteenth century; N 186, fifteenth century; N 102, seventeenth century, etc.

7 Relics of Tropologion

Scholars agree that the book of the *Iadgari*/Tropologion reflects the cathedral urban worship,[1] which was very solemn. The highest clergy, along with the patriarch, participated in it in the presence of the Emperor and the high imperial dignitaries. The earliest extant manuscript containing the rules for the cathedral worship order is Patmos 266 from the library of the Patmos monastery. It was written in the second half of the ninth or the beginning of the tenth century.[2] The early date of this manuscript is proven by the first Sunday of Quadragesima included. This Sunday is not yet named Sunday of Orthodoxy, as it was indicated after 843, the end of the iconoclasm, but Sunday of the prophets Moses, Aaron and Samuel. According to A. Baumstark, this fact is a sure argument that the manuscript reflects worship before the end of the iconoclasm, i.e., the first half of the ninth century at the latest. Baumstark also states that the Patmos manuscript was comprised of both Typikon and Synaxarion written at different times. Specifically, the Typikon was written between the deaths of the Empress Irina in 802 and of patriarch Tarasios in 806. In all probability, this Typikon was written by a Sabaite monk.[3]

The cathedral worship is not only considered to have been more solemn than the monastic one, but also "far more conservative."[4] Copies of the two basic types of notated musical books designed for the cathedral worship are preserved: the Asmatikon and the Psaltikon. They are particularly linked with the Great Church "Hagia Sophia" in Constantinople. Almost all preserved copies are from the time of the twelfth–fourteenth centuries. Early copies of the books originating before the twelfth century did not come to us. The manuscripts contain melismatic repertory for both the services and the Holy Liturgy for great feasts – for the Lord, the Theotokos and for the common services. The copies of these books fit into the classification of the musical treatise *Hagiopolites* that was representative of Eastern church music until the ubiquitous establishment of the neo-Sabaitic synthesis during the fourteenth century.[5] The two books are complementary in terms of their repertory: the Asmatikon contains chants for the two choirs (the left and the right); the Psaltikon contains chants for the soloists.[6] O. Strunk, who is among the first researchers of the two books, pointed out the following

distribution of the repertory included the communions while the ordinary chants for the liturgy are in the Asmatikon. Only two of the great annual communions are in the Psaltikon – *Ποτήριον σωτηρίου* for the Virgin and *Σῶμα Χριστοῦ* for Easter. The great troparia for Christmas and Epiphany are in both books: their refrains are in the Asmatikon, the troparia that are performed by soloists are in the Psaltikon. The prokeimena are also divided: the refrains of the liturgical prokeimena and of the great Vespers prokeimena along with their verse (στιχος) are in the Asmatikon; and the first half of the same prokeimena and the weekly daily prokeimena are in the Psaltikon. The hypakoe is also included in both books, since its troparia are performed by the choirs and its heirmos by the soloists. The Alleluia verses and kontakia are in the Psaltikon.[7] As could be seen, the two books contain some of the earliest formed genres that are already encountered in the Georgian Lectionary – troparia, prokeimena, Alleluias and hypakoai. O. Strunk suggests that the combination of prokeimenon, Alleluia, hypakoe and kontakion originated from the time when the music of these genres was gathered together and recorded for the first time.[8]

The Psaltikon is of special interest for our study. One of the oldest and the first large form of the chanting poetry that was developed in the East from the sixth century onwards is included in it – the kontakion.[9] Kontakia for the whole church year are included in the Psaltikons. O. Strunk paid special attention to their arrangement. He stressed that they show a common distinctive feature – they are arranged in an **uninterrupted sequential order**, going through the immovable, movable and again immovable feasts according to the church calendar.[10] Strunk concluded that such an order of arrangement is not known by any copy of the Sticherarion, but it was used in the ancient Lectionaries in which the Biblical readings followed in the order of *lectio continua*. He suggested that this order might have abounded and dropped out in an early period (in all probability the manuscripts of the type of the Georgian *Iadgari* and the whole problematic of the Tropologion were not known to him).[11]

Copies of the book of the Psaltikon are known from various geographical regions, such as Sinai, Patmos, Mount Athos, etc. Part of them originates from Italian monasteries like Grottaferrata near Rome and San Salvatore in Messina. According to Strunk, all of them go back to a common prototype.[12] The rubrics of the prokeimena and Alleluias give reasons to suggest that the manuscripts were compiled in Constantinople. The origin of the kontakia included also testifies to this.[13] Their study displays an archaic arrangement and confirms Strunk's claim. Briefly presented below is the order of the repertory in two Psaltikons (the latter were mentioned in Chapter 5, when the manuscript Vat. gr. 2008 was discussed).

1. **Ashburnhamense 64** – manuscript from the Laurentian Library in Florence. According to an inscription preserved in it (f. 179v), the manuscript was written by someone called Simeon in 1289.[14] It is notated in mid-Byzantine notation. The initial rubric (f. 1r) determines it as a Psaltikon. It contains

kontakia for the whole year in an uninterrupted liturgical calendar order: for the immovable feasts according to the Menaion, from the beginning of the church year (September 1) to Hypapante (February 2); for the movable feasts according to the Triodion-Pentekostarion, from Meatfare Saturday to All Saints Sunday with three fixed dates: for March 9 (the Holy 40 Martyrs), March 25 (the Annunciation) and April 23 (St. George); and again, the immovable feasts according to the Menaion, from June 24 (St. John Prodromos) to the end of August. After them follow eight-mode successions of kontakia designated as "anastasima," (resurrectional), Alleluias and hypakoai (designated as "katavasia"), all for the resurrectional services.

Comment. As could be seen, the kontakia are arranged in the same order, like the repertory of the *Iadgari* – an **uninterrupted liturgical calendar order**. The beginning of the liturgical church year, however, has a new date – September 1. The two first weeks of the Preparatory season of Lent – of the Publican and Pharisee and of the Prodigal son – are missing, as it is in all older books containing a repertory for Lent.

2. **Vat. gr. 345** – manuscript from the Vatican Apostolic library in Rome of the thirteenth through fourteenth centuries, also in middlebyzantine notation.[15] It is close to the above manuscript in many respects. According to C. Thodberg, the manuscript is a typical representative of the "short psaltikon style" (so called by him) with classical repertory of the Psaltikon.[16] The content of the manuscript is as follows:

I Prokeimena. Three kinds of pokeimena are included: (1) liturgical – about 30 for the greatest feasts for both Lord and the Theotokos, as well as for the common services; (2) Vesperal prokeimena for both weekdays and Sundays sung immediately after the Vesperal hymn *Gladsome Light* (*Φῶς ἱλαρὸν*); and (3) Vesperal prokeimena for great feasts sung in place of the small Vesperal prokeimena.[17]

II Alleluias. All of them are for great feasts (they do not follow the calendar order).

III Prokeimena and hypakoai. The resurrectional prokeimena in eight-mode succession are given first (they are performed at great feasts instead of kathismata that are sung after the third ode of the kanon); after them hypakoai follow for some great feasts.

IV Kontakia and oikoi for the whole year starting with September 1. The arrangement follows the same order like in Ashburnhamense 64, an **uninterrupted liturgical calendar order**: immovable feasts according to the Menaion from the beginning of the church year, September 1, to February 2, movable ones according to the Triodion-Pentekostarion from Meatfare Saturday to All Saints Sunday, and again, immovable feasts according to the Menaion from June 24 to August 31. The kontakia and oikoi for April and May are missing.

Comment. As could be seen, the repertory is grouped by genres – one of the oldest systematizations of liturgical repertory. The repertory for the

movable feasts starts with Meatfare Saturday during the Preparatory season of Lent, and it is inserted in immovable feasts between February 2 and June 24.

Vat. gr. 345 is representative of Italo-Greek manuscripts, and could be compared with three other manuscripts of the same Psaltikon type: Crypt. Γ. γ. III, Paris gr. 397 and Sinai 1280.[18] According to Strunk, the four cited Psaltikons have a common prototype since they belong to the same melodic tradition – the manuscripts contain the same chants in the same order. Even the variants that are revealed in them are the same.[19] Yet four other Greek manuscripts could be added to the above four Psaltikons – two are from the library of the Sinai monastery from the end of the twelfth to the beginning of the thirteenth century, 1314 and 1322,[20] and two from the library of the monastery "St. Salvatore" in Messina from the beginning of the thirteenth century and of the thirteenth–fourteenth centuries, respectively, Messina 129 and 120.[21] According to O. Strunk, the Psaltikons of Messina and Grottaferrata display an adaptation to the local requirements and practices. The copies of Messina are more developed in melodic respect; those of Grottaferrata follow the version of Messina in terms of both the hypakoai and the Alleluia-refrains, but in terms of the kontakia, however, they follow the version of Constantinople.[22] In all manuscripts the kontakia are in the same uninterrupted order, and the movable cycle is inserted into the immovable one as in Vat. gr. 345 and Ashburnhamense 64, between Hypapante on February 2 and the feast of the Nativity of St. John Prodromas. The movable cycle also starts in the same way with the Meatfare Saturday; but, the first two weeks of the Preparatory season of Lent – of the Publican and Pharisee and of the Prodigal son – are missing. The cited Psaltikons are representative for the "chanted" cathedral practice. They clearly show an archaic tradition that was preserved going back to the time of the *Iadgari*. The included prokeimena and Alleluias that start with the Nativity of Jesus also refer to the old *Iadgari* practice.

Hence, the study of the kontakia in the Psaltikon testifies that the cathedral worship in Constantinople, until the time of the widespread adoption of the New Sabaitic Typikon (the end of the thirteenth–fourteenth centuries), had preserved relics of the old liturgical Jerusalem practice in terms of the arrangement of its repertory in an uninterrupted liturgical calendar order.[23] The availability of this order provides grounds to conclude that the cathedral liturgical practice of Constantinople in its written format had followed that of Jerusalem or of some early Studite practice. The date September 1, as a beginning of the church year in the sequence of the kontakia in the Psaltikons according to the liturgical calendar, was widely spread in Constantinople in the eighth century. It was established in sources connected with the Studites, who still used the uninterrupted liturgical calendar order in their compilation of hymnographic books. The change in the transmission of the kontakia, when they began to be inserted in the kanon, probably occurred after Theodore the Studite. According to O. Strunk, Theodore was one of the last poet-melodes who wrote extensive kontakia comparable to

those of Roman the Melode. Joseph the Hymnographer, after him, reduced the format of the kontakia he wrote. The entry of the kontakion within the kanon became possible after said reduction, that is, in the ninth century.[24] In the cathedral worship, however, the kontakion has preserved both its more archaic and extensive form and its arrangement from the time of Theodore.[25] It was the time when the hymnographic reforms of Damascus began to be established at the Studite monastery: the old Jerusalem Typikon was in use up to the thirteenth–fourteenth centuries in various redactions.[26]

A special place among the kontakion repertory is held by the five Old Russian Kondakars that mainly contain kontakia – Typographsky Ustav, Uspensky, Blagoveshchensky, Synodalny and Lavrsky.[27] All of them are dated between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries. The kontakia included are arranged in the new "interrupted" order of immovable – movable cycles. The immovable cycle starts with September 1 and ends at the end of August. The movable cycle follows the immovable one, with Lent, Easter and post-Easter time. The oldest Kondakar is the so-called Typografsky Ustav (Typikon).[28] It is dated from the eleventh to twelfth centuries. The oldest copy of the Studite Typikon in Slavic is included in the beginning of this manuscript. The Triodion section in it begins with Meatfare Sunday. The Triodion section of the actual Kondakar starts not with this Sunday, but with the Sunday of the Prodigal son. The end of manuscript includes various chants for resurrectional services in eight-mode successions. The Typografsky Ustav/Typikon is considerably shorter than the other redactions of the Studite Typikon, such as the Studute-Aleksios redaction. It contains indications for some major feasts during the church year: the third Sunday of Lent (of the Holy Cross), Palm Sunday, Holy Week, Easter, Sunday and the Monday after Easter, Mesopentikostis, the Ascension, Pentekost, Monday of the Holy Spirit, All Saints Sunday and the beginning of the fast of St. Peter. Indications for other days are either missing or quite short. Only highlighting the major feasts from the liturgical calendar gave A. Erhard reason to determine such a calendar as a "short" one – the "full" calendar, according to him, is one that contains memories for each day of the year.[29]

An early Kondakar in Greek (text only) dated by K. Clark from the eleventh century, Sinai gr. 926, displays the same arrangement as the Russian Kondakars.[30] All services in it follow the order of immovable feasts according to the Menaion (September–August), and movable ones according to the Triodion-Pentekostarion starting with Meatfare Sunday. Half of the content of the manuscript consists of exaposteilaria – a new genre attributed to Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitos. They entered the manuscripts that were linked to the Studite monastery from the tenth century onwards. The exaposteilaria are for the whole church year, following the order of both the immovable cycle of the Menaion from September to August and the movable one of the Triodion-Pentekostarion starting with the Sunday of the Publican and Pharisee. That the modal designations were not written

systematically could mean that the manuscript transmitted a peripheral practice (according to the repertory, it could have been a monastic one).

It is clear from the above evidences that two different structures in the arrangement of the kontakion repertory existed during the time between the eleventh and the fourteenth centuries – an older one and a newer one. They could be connected with the use of different Typika. In some of the earliest redactions of the Studite Typikon, the Studite-Aleksios and the Evergetis, the liturgical cycles of the feasts are given as separate ones: immovable from September to the end of August and movable for Lent, Easter and post-Easter time. Hence, the question of the prototype of the Russian Kondakars arises. It could be assumed that it was different from that of the Southern Italian and Sinai Psaltikons discussed. Obviously, two "Forlage" were used, one of which was for the cathedral practice of the Great Church "Hagia Sophia": it was followed in terms of the compilation of the repertory for the cathedral worship. In terms of the arrangement of this repertory within the book, however, an old monastic "Forlage" was followed. It is almost certain that the division of the hymnographic repertory into immovable and movable feasts and their systematization in separate cycles started at the literary school of the Studite monastery. The monastic "Forlage" related to the arrangement of the repertory is not later than the tenth century, since the first preparatory week of Lent (of the Publican and Pharisee), which is documented in manuscripts from the second quarter of the eleventh century onwards, is missing in both parts of the Typografsky Ustav – the Ustav/Typikon and the Kondakar itself. The old Russian Kondakars turn out to be similar to the Old Bulgarian Cyrillic manuscripts – they do not display the uninterrupted order of arrangement of the liturgical chant repertory. First, both the Old Bulgarian hymnographic manuscripts in Cyrillic from the tenth to the thirteenth centuries and the Old Russian ones from the same time transmit a later stage of development of hymnographic liturgical books, and second, both of them could be considered as belonging to the same stage.

On the basis of the studied kontakion repertory it could also be said that the old uninterrupted liturgical order, preserved in the sources related to great cathedral churches, was rearranged in a monastic milieu. It was divided into two separate cycles of immovable and movable feasts. It is this arrangement that is revealed in the different redactions of the Studite Typikon from the eleventh century on.[31]

There is no doubt that the questions posed here are especially complicated, and that they deserve a special study. It could be added, though, that the time up to the fourteenth century was extremely dynamic; various interactions were exchanged, leading to changes in liturgical practice and to everything related to it – sources, chant repertory, genres and notations. The liturgical practice during the Middle Ages was in no way something constant and permanently established: it was changed according to the requirements and needs of the time. The most adequate forms for its transmission were

sought. All of this can be seen in the sources, in their compilation and in the repertory itself that became a mirror to contemporary demands. Liturgical practice was alive, sensibly responding to various changes in its development. There are no two manuscripts that are identical from the considered time: the manuscripts differ from each other in terms of both those that could be determined as central (legislative) and those that were marginal (local or peripheral). Each manuscript is unique in its content, and reveals certain choices and preferences in terms of its structure, compilation, repertory, authors included, orthography, etc.[32] In this sense, P. Bradshaw determines the liturgical literature as a "living literature," "constantly growing, changing, and evolving as it moves from generation to generation or from one ecclesiastical tradition to another."[33] In each historical stage of development of this literature, we could find valuable sources for study.

The question about the relics of an older practice requires extensive comparative research. I could only mention here that the old uninterrupted liturgical calendar order is revealed in the early Western hymnographic books, as well. These books, similar to the sources discussed, contain non-biblical material, and include material for the entire ecclesiastical year. They also contain similar festal parts (especially in the books of the type of the Antiphonary) to those in the sources discussed: *Temporale*, or feasts for "the time," celebrating the Coming, Birth, Life, Passions, Death, Resurrection and Ascension of the Messiah (part of them are immovable and the other part – movable); *Sanctorale*, devoted to the commemoration of various saints (all of them are immovable); and *Commune Sanctorum*. Often included at the end is the so-called *Tonarium*, a section with chants systematized in the eight-mode successions. In the manuscript Paris, BNF lat. 1085 from the early eleventh century, which contains early notated chants, the feasts for Lent are inserted between March 25 (the Annunciation) and April 23 (St. George). These chants are preceded and succeeded by feasts for the saints and the Theotokos from Advent (a period of four weeks before Christmas) to November 30.[34] R. Pfaff points out an earlier manuscript originating from Padua, written in the mid-ninth century but containing earlier material datable to about 680. In this manuscript, the *Temporale* and *Sanctorale* generally intermingled uninterrupted liturgical order are written down immovable feasts for saints, movable ones for Lent and immovable ones for saints again, etc.[35] The author also states that in the old Gelasian Sacramentary, manuscript Vat. reg. lat. 316 (written by 750), the arrangement of the repertory is already in an "interrupted" liturgical order: the Lord's feasts are given from the Nativity to Pentekost, then feasts of saints follow from January 15 to December 21, Sundays after Pentekost and so on.[36] The author summarizes that "the tradition goes in the direction of avoiding the time when Lent and Easter week are likeliest to fall."[37] A similar conclusion is also made by J. McKinnon. He establishes that

"in the liturgical books of the Carolingian period the saint's dates are interspersed throughout the annual cycle but eventually they are separated out to form their own calendric cycle."[38]

The early Western books have also preserved the other old structure, which we determined as **thematic liturgical cyclic order** presented by the feasts of Lord, of saints and of the common services. This order is documented in some books in which chants of one or two genres are gathered together, for instance like those for the processions or litanies. The manuscript Solesmes Réserve 28 is considered one of the most representative of such books. It was written in the fourteenth century, but both its repertory and its structure go back to an earlier time – by the eleventh century. The manuscript contains repertory of antiphons for the whole ecclesiastical year. First are written the antiphons for Lord's feasts from Advent to Pentekost, and then for the saint's days from January 6, onwards.[39] Hence, it could be concluded that such Western liturgical books transmit a state of composition and structure of the repertory before the hymnographic reforms of St. John of Damascus, i.e., the Western books are similar to the Eastern ones in many aspects, but from the sixth–seventh centuries onwards they definitely went on their own way of development. Evidence for this conclusion is in the lack of the two large hymnographic forms that developed in the East, the kontakion and the kanon, in Western church music: both forms remain unknown in Western liturgical music. The place of the kanon in the Eastern books is between psalm 50 and the prayer psalms with stichera; in the same place in the Western books, the Biblical odes, those that precede the appearance of the kanon, are included: the latter (the kanon) was formed on the basis of the former (the Biblical odes).[40] According to James McKinnon, the core repertory of the Western church was probably systematized at the time of reign of Pope Gregory II (715–731), that was also the time of St. John of Damascus in the East. The repertory was established in a form suitable for transmission, which means that particular texts were appointed for each day, and for each text a particular melody (in Western medieval literature, they are the so-called "text formularies"). Some of the available texts with melodies were chosen and recorded, respectively, in liturgical books; they started to be repeated each year.[41]

Typologically common issues between the West and the East could be considered to be traces of the heritage of the period of Late Antiquity, which Cyril Mango dates in the range between 284 and 602. As Mango stresses, this period embraces that what was created in the whole Roman world, in both Latin and Greek. It included Rome, Milan, Trier, Ravenna, Carthage, Constantinople, Antioch, Alexandria and Ephesus. The author also stresses that, apart from the difference in language, the cultural climate was uniform. Late Antiquity, he concludes, "provided the cultural soil out of which grew both the medieval West and the medieval East."[42]

Notes

1 E. Vereshchagin defends the same opinion. Studying Ilia's book and determing it as a Tropologion, he states that it was representative of the practice of the Great Church, see Верещагин, Е. М. *Ильина книга…*, с. X–XI; idem. Наименьшие поэтико-смысловые единицы в греко-славянской гимнографии (на материале Ильинской книги). В: *Liturgische Hymnen…*, 397–438.

2 About this manuscript see Baumstark, A. Das Typikon der Patmos-Handschrift 266 und die altkonstantinopolitanische Gottesdienstordnung. *JL*, 6, 1923, 98–111; and also Wellesz, E. *A History of Byzantine Music…*, 133–134.

3 Bertoniere, G. The Historical Development…, p. 113. About the Typikon of the Great Church "Hagia Sophia" see also: Mateos, J., S. I. Le Typicon de la Grande Eglise. Ms. Saint-Croix n. 40, X^{e} siècle. *OCA*, 165, 1962; 166, 1963. There is an indication about the performance of a trisagion with great doxology in the old Palestinian practice in the Typikon discussed by J. Mateos. According to A. Pentkovsky, the performance of morning resurrectional stichera was excluded from the old Palestinian practice, see Пентковский, А. М. *Типикон патриарха Алексия Студита в Византии и на Руси*. Москва, 2001, с. 134. About the order of Great Saturday see Mateos, J., S. I. Le Typicon…, 166, p. 82.

4 Taft, R. The Synaxarion of Evergetis…, p. 285. With the development of monasticism in Constantinople between the ninth and the end of the eleventh centuries, the old and new versions of the church Typikon were used together.

5 See Floros, C. *Einführung in die Neumenkunde…*, S. 45. About the neo-Sabaitic synthesis see Taft, R. Mount Athos…, 179–194.

6 There is a large literature on the two types of manuscripts, see: Strunk, O. S. Salvatore di Messina and the Musical Tradition of Magna Graecia. In: *Essays…*, 45–50; Floros, C. *Einführung in die Neumenkunde…*, S. 45, 82; Moran, N. K. Ordinary Chants of the Byzantine Mass. In: *Hamburger Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft*, 12. Vol. 1. Hamburg, 1975, 26–44; Harris, S. Psalmodic Traditions and the Christmas and Epiphany Troparia as Preserved in 13th-Century Psaltika and Asmatika. In: *Cantus Planus.* Budapest, 1990, 205–211; Harris, S. Double Pauses in Byzantine Psaltika and Asmatika. In: *Cantus Planus*. Vol. 2. Budapest, 1993, 403–409.

7 See Strunk, O. S. Salvatore di Messina…, 45–54; Strunk, O. S. Some Observations on the Music of the Kontakion. In: *Essays…*, 157–164.

8 Strunk, O. Some Observations…, p. 158.

9 The form of the kontakion was worked out by Roman the Melode (about 485 – after 555) at the time of the reign of Athanasios I (491–518). S. Brok links its origin with Syria, and especially with the model of Syriac *madrasha*: the earliest kontakia, according to him, were very close to these chants in their format, see Brock, S. P. From Ephrem to Romanus…, p. 141. It was suggested that Roman knew both the Syriac works (he was inspired by the poetry of Ephrem the Syrian) and the Greek ones very well. He used both of them in his hymns, see Petersen, W. L. The Dependence of Romanos the Melodist Upon the Syriac Ephrem: Its Importance for the Origin of the Kontakion. *VC*, 39, 1985, 171–187.

10 Strunk, O. Some Observations…, p. 159.

11 Ibidem. Strunk gives the uninterrupted order according to two early manuscripts: Sinai 925 of the tenth century (its older part) and the Italian Corsiniana 366 of the eleventh century.

12 Ibidem.

13 Strunk, O. Some Observations…, p. 158.

14 About this manuscript see Contacarium Ashburnhamense. Ed. by C. Høeg. In: *MMB*. Vol. 4. Copenhague, 1956; see also Wellesz, E. *A History…*, 330–331.

15 Devreese dates it from the thirteenth century, see Devreese, R. *Codices Vaticani*…, 21–23. K. Thodberg dates it from the thirteenth to fourteenth centuries, which according to the notation seems more likely, see Thodberg, C. Der byzantinische…, 9–22. D. Touliatos-Banker also dates it from the thirteenth to fourteenth centuries, see Touliatos-Banker, D. Checкlist…, p. 25. The author of this study has worked with the microfilm of this manuscript in the Vatican Film Library at the St. Louis University in St. Louis, MO.

16 Thodberg, C. Der byzantinische…, S. 22.

17 About the various kinds of prokeimena, see: Димитрова, М. *Прокимените във византийско-славянската певческа традиция на Балканите през XIV и XV в.*, дисертация. София, 1999.

18 Strunk, O. S. Salvatore…, p. 48.

19 Ibidem.

20 The manuscripts are wrongly dated by K. Clark in his Checklist, respectively from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Clark has also wrongly dated the earliest Psaltikon, the Sinai manuscript 1280 – from the fourteenth century, see Clark, K. *Checklist of Manuscripts in St. Catherine's Monastery*…, p. 12. The recent study of the latter shows that it should be dated from the twelfth century; see Μπαλαγεῶργος, Δ., Κρητικοῦ, Φ. *Τὰ χειρόγραφα βυζαντινῆς μουσικῆς Σινᾶ*. Τ. Α. Ἀθῆνα, 2008, s. 290.

21 About these Psaltikons, see also: Floros, C. *Das mittelbyzantinische Kontakion-repertoire. Untersuchungen und kritische Edition*. 3 Bände. Hamburg, 1961; idem. *The Origins of Russian Music. Introduction to the Kondakarion Notation*. Frankfurt am Main, 2009.

22 Strunk, O. Some Observations…, p. 158.

23 Manuscript Sinai 1262, a Greek Kondakar from 1437 containing mainly kontakia, is similar by its type to the manuscripts discussed; the uninterrupted order, however, is missing in it: the kontakia follow the order of the Menaion from September 1 to August 31, then the order of the Triodion-Pentekostarion. The Preparatory season of Lent, however, starts with Meatfare Saturday, as it is in the earlier manuscripts. It is clear that the new redaction of the Jerusalem Typikon puts an end not only to "asmatiki akolouthiai," but also to the last relics of the old liturgical order of hymnographic material for the annual liturgical cycle in the written sources, especially those in Greek.

24 Such an opinion is also expressed by S. Kozhucharov. He thinks that the kontakion found its lasting place in the kanon, and was established after its sixth ode; it is possible to have happened after the stabilization of hymnographic works of the early Studite type, see Кожухаров, С. Кондак. *КМЕ*. Т. 2. С., 1995, 385–386. That in the ninth century the kontakion's place in the kanon had not yet been established also speaks to this. Some sources, like the Typikon of Nikon of the Black Mountain of the eleventh century, the Typikon of Luke of Messina of the same time and the Hymn for St. Clement of Rome ascribed to Constantin-Cyril the Philosopher, indicate the performance of the kontakion after the third ode of the kanon. See more about these sources in: Hannick, C. Das "Slovo na prenesenie mostem Sv. Klimenta" als liturgiegeschichtliche Quelle. *OCA*, 231, 1988, 27–236; *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents*. Ed. by J. Thomas, A. C. Hero. Washington, DC, 2000. Vol. 2, & 26: Luke of Messina: Typikon of Luke for the Monastery of Christ Savior (San Salvatore) in Messina, 637–648; Kujumdzieva, S. Viewing the Earliest Old Slavic…, p. 90. R. Krivko determines the time of the liturgical change of the kontakion to be a little bit later – the tenth century: according to him, this could be considered a time of displacement of the Palestinian-Sinai hymnographic tradition of Byzantine hymnography, see Кривко, Р. Синайские унциальные…, с. 322.

25 As it was said in the beginning, the cathedral worship was much more solemn than the monastic one. Solemner liturgical seasons, according to A. Baumstark, were able to preserve older usages that had disappeared elsewhere, see Taft, R. Anton Baumstark's…, p. 206.

26 It is very likely that the uninterrupted liturgical order was used not only in books designed for the cathedral worship, but also in books designed for the so-called idiosyncratic monasteries (ἰδιόρυθμον). There were such monasteries in Byzantium, including Mount Athos. Some scholars refer Ilia's book to this monastery, for instance; the book displays an uninterrupted liturgical order: the elements of the movable cycle are inserted just like the sources displaying uninterrupted order (see Chapter 6).

27 C. Floros believes that they were translations from Old Byzantine Asmatikons that did not come to us, see Floros, C. *Einführung in die Neumenkunde…*, S. 82; Floros, C. *The Origins of Russian Music. Introduction to the Kondakarien Notation*. Frankfurt am Main, 2009, S. 27.

28 It was suggested that the Typografsky Ustav contains an abbreviated text of the Studite-Aleksios redaction of the Studite Typikon, the oldest known one in Slavic, see Уханова, Е. В. Древнерусские списки Студийского устава и проблема богослужения Древней Руси XI–XIII века. В: *Liturgische Hymnen…*, S. 83. The author also suggested that it was written for a special monastery, ibidem, p. 85; see also Уханова, Е. В. Древнейшая русская редакция Студийского устава: происхождение и особенности богослужения по Типографскому списку. В: *Типографский устав…*, с. 248–249.

29 By Klentos, J. The Synaxarion of Evergetis: Algebra, Geology and Byzantine Monasticism. In: *Work and Worship at the Theotokos Evergetis…*, p. 335.

30 Clark, K. *Checklist of Manuscripts in St. Catherine's Monastery…*, p. 10.

31 It is suggested that the Typografsky Ustav and the other Old Russian Kondakars were written at the Lazarus monastery in Novgorod: there was a big scriptorium in this monastery during the twelfth-thirteenth centuries, and the famous Novgorod's Menaia of the same time probably came from it, see Уханова, Е. В. Древнейшая русская редакция…, 241–242.

32 This was established by a number of scholars. G. Popov, for instance, establishes that the oldest Greek Triodia that came to us differ very much from each other; at the same time, the Slavic books compiled in the first half of the tenth century display various corrections and adaptations, which testify to the desire for their unification with the official Byzantine liturgical books, see Попов, Г. Триод. *КМЕ*. Т. 4, с. 172.

33 Bradshaw, P. V. The Search…, p. 101.

34 See Grier, J. The Divine Office at Saint-Martial in the Early Eleventh Century. Paris, BNF lat. 1085. In: *The Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages. From Ancient Greece to the 15th Century*. Ed. by J. McKinnon. New Jersey, 1991, 193–196.

35 Pfaff, R. W. Telling Liturgical Times…, p. 47.

36 Ibidem, p. 48.

37 Ibidem, p. 49.

38 McKinnon, J. The Emergence of Gregorian Chant in the Carolingian Era. In: *Antiquity and the Middle Ages…*, 88–119 (p. 88).

39 See Huglo, M. The Cluniac Processional of Solesmes. Bibliotheque de l'Abbaye, Reserve 28. *The Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages…*, 209–211.

40 See the published scheme in: Jeffery, P. Eastern and Western Elements…, pp. 125, 132.

41 McKinnon, J. Op. cit., p. 114.

42 Mango, C. Introduction. *OHB*. Ed. by C. Mango. Oxford, 2002, p. 5.

8 The Tropologion in its historical transmission

The study of the book of the Tropologion, or the book containing hymnic material in Greek, Georgian, Syriac and Armenian, reveals a homogenous written tradition that helps us to both situate the processes taking place in its transmission between the fifth and the thirteenth centuries, and catch a glimpse of early hymnography and liturgy in comparative completeness. The study also allows us to outline the genealogy of this book according to the extant sources, worship and chant repertory, and to trace modifications in it in some of the largest Eastern Christian centers: from Jerusalem (with which the earliest extant written Christian sources are linked) to Constantinople and beyond – in the orbit of the cultural spread of Byzantine civilization, with ninth-century Bulgaria included. Three stages of development could be outlined in the chronological transmission of the book of the Tropologion in its copies in Syriac, Georgian and Greek that were discussed in this study.[1] In each stage are revealed changes in terms of the three determined parameters: the liturgical calendar, the compilation and structure of the repertory, and the genres included in the book. These changes are the criteria for the typology of the stages, and reflect various liturgical Typika (from an embryonic to well-developed form of them) and adaptations to local practices. The transmission of the hymnographic books could be traced in full from the Syriac manuscripts that are preserved in various copies from the fifth/sixth to the thirteenth centuries. They outline an uninterrupted, integral picture in the written tradition of the book, in which we find the three parameters determined.[2] On the assumption of the study of the Syriac manuscripts that the book of the Tropologion, a prototype of the Syriac and Georgian sources, has been transmitted in Greek as well, it is important to stress that its compilation became necessary in the presence of two other important books that were used in the worship – the Psalter and the Lectionary.[3] The latter, along with the Tropologion, turned out to be the oldest compiled liturgical books in written format containing psalms and hymns along with the rules for their use and performance.

The three stages in the transmission of the Tropologion, considered as the earliest book with hymnic liturgical material, could be systematized on the basis of the sources studied as follows: **first stage** – from the end of the fifth

to the mid-seventh centuries with the central figure of Severus of Antioch;[4] **second stage** – from the second half of the seventh century to the first half of the eighth century, the time of the Sabaites from the hymnographic school of the "St. Sabas" monastery with the central figure of St. John of Damascus; and the **third stage** from the end of the eighth to the tenth century, the time of the Studites from the hymnographic school of the Studite monastery with the central figures of Theodore the Studite and Joseph the Hymnographer. I shall briefly discuss the three stages, pointing out the differences between them.

Tropologion I

A book known from the time of Severus that was compiled by him and by other men of letters. It has been preserved in copies in Syriac, which were translations from Greek originals. Its earliest dated source is the so-called "Oktoechos of Severus" from 675. The major principle of arrangement is the **thematic liturgical cyclic order**. The repertory follows the order of the thematic festal liturgical cycles: feasts of the Lord in calendar order, from Christmas (or Epiphany, or the Annunciation) to Pentekost, feasts of saints and feasts of the common services. Such an order – according to thematic cycles – seems to be among the oldest principles of the compilation of liturgical hymnic books.[5] The genres that are revealed in this stage are mainly of the troparion and kontakion types – the manito, madrasha and sugyatha.

Tropologion II

A book known from the time of St. John of Damascus. It has been preserved in copies in Greek, Georgian, Syriac and Armenian, and known, respectively, as Tropologion, *Iadgari*, Tropligin and Šaraknoc.[6] We refer it to the time of Damascus because, first, the genres of stichera and kanon that emerged on the cusp of the seventh and eighth centuries, the time of Damascus, are revealed in it; second, the names of authors, immediate predecessors and/or contemporaries of Damascus appear for the first time in it; and third, the *Iadgari* was the book based on the material from the Georgian Lectionary written during the first half of the eighth century at the latest, which means that the Greek prototype of the *Iadgari* should have been compiled after the dissemination of the Georgian Lectionary, that is, by the middle of the eighth century at the latest. This book could be considered a first redaction of the existing hymnic book before Damascus, the Tropologion I. Like the latter, it starts with Christmas, Forfeast of Christmas or with the Annunciation-Christmas. The principle of the arrangement of the book is changed here. The thematic liturgical cyclic order is replaced entirely by the **uninterrupted liturgical calendar order**. The repertory does not follow in thematic festal cycles in the succession of the feasts of Lord, saints and common services, but in the succession of the liturgical order of the annual cycle: first

are included the immovable feasts with dates indicated (feasts of the Lord, the Theotokos and the saints), then the movable ones inserted between the Hypapante on February 2 and the feast of St. George on April 23 (Lent, starting most often with Meatfare Sunday, Easter and post-Easter time), and again the immovable feasts until the end of November. In the greater part of the copies, this repertory is followed by repertory designed for both resurrectional and common services for weekdays; the days of the week are not yet indicated. The repertory for the resurrectional and common services is in eight-mode successions. The genres that are revealed in this stage are mainly for the resurrectional worship: troparia, stichera, kanons, hypakoai, prokeimena, kathismata and beatitudes.[7]

It should be stressed that the repertory for the resurrectional and common services are in eight-mode successions and forms the earliest Oktoechos. Do we know what exactly Damascus has done – what the total picture of the facts is, according to the studied sources?

In all probability, the great hymnographer knew the existing book with hymnic material, like the Syriac copy of the "Oktoechos of Severus," from the last quarter of the seventh century that was transmitted at his time – Damascus was a Syrian. It is likely that he worked out or elaborated on this book. One of his activities should have been related to the rearrangement of liturgical feasts according to the liturgical calendar used in Jerusalem at his time. This led to the establishment of the unified uninterrupted liturgical calendar order.[8] Such an order of the repertory is observed at the boundary between the eighth and the ninth centuries in Georgian, Syriac and Armenian sources. The rearrangement of the festal system could be thought of as one of the essential characteristics of the reformative work of Damascus in the field of hymnography. All the innovations related to this work come from here. We could suggest that Damascus, working on both the rearrangement of the feasts and the establishment of the uninterrupted liturgical calendar order starting with Christmas, inevitably has contaminated repertory for the feasts of Lord with those for saints. In the Syriac books from an earlier time, these two groups of feasts were arranged in separate thematic cycles; Damascus has also contaminated immovable feasts with movable ones, and inserted among them the newly established feasts for the Theotokos and saints whose number increased considerably at that time.[9] In order to fill out the rearranged services, Damascus created a number of new chants, including such for weekdays associated with the memory of the Theotokos. It seems very likely that the festal system for the Theotokos was reshaped and enriched by his generation. He also "swarmed" the troparia, the basic hymnographic genre used up to his time. This process should have been started by his predecessors involved in hymnography, such as the two patriarchs Sophronios of Jerusalem and Germanos of Constantinople. The kanon became a genre that enjoyed a wider spread. Its odes were comprised of troparia. Originally the stichera were called troparia, and that lasted for a long time. Eventually the two genres – troparia and stichera – were

differentiated: the troparia remained freely selectable and the stichera were linked to particular psalm verses. In all probability, in the process of the rearrangement and contamination of the repertory, particular dates were determined for the immovable feasts and fixed in the church calendar. We find such dates systematically indicated in the copies of the *Iadgari* (there is a table of saints with particular dates at the end of the "Oktoechos of Severus": there are not yet dates within the particular feasts in this source). Most of these fixed dates remain in the contemporary church calendar. The beginning of the church year is preserved at the time of Christmas; while Lent and Easter time are put between the fixed dates of Hypapante on February 14, or later on February 2, and St. George on April 23. This place becomes a real liturgical one of movable feasts. Also, in the rearrangement of the feasts, the repertory for resurrection services should have been systematized and put at the end of the book next to the common services. For the first time, chants of the two cyclical services – resurrectional and common – were distributed in the succession of the eight church modes. This formed the book of the Oktoechos.[10]

If we look for an answer to the question of why exactly the eight-mode successions were introduced to the chants for resurrectional and common services first, we could say the following. The eight modes already existed as a modal system in the East at the time of Damascus. Recent studies of various sources show that during the sixth century this system was applied to the hymnic material.[11] Without doubt, the eight-mode modal system was loaded with specific meaning: each mode had a particular ethos related to some particular theological ideas that had to be transmitted to the community.[12] The so-called *echemata*, the intonational formulas for the modes, primarily speak about this. It is believed that these formulas were taken from selected prayers. For instance, the *Hagiopolites* treatise from the fourteenth century links the intonational formula for mode 1 with the prayer *O, Lord, forgive.*[13] By the integration of liturgical chants in the eight mode system, it was intended for them both to be placed in a particular compositional framework and to convey a particular theological semantic set in this system.[14] We read in the *Hagiopolites* that melodies existed before the echoi (modes) came into being, but they were "without echoes and harmony and forced nature towards screaming and violence," something that was "forbidden by the Sacred Decrees."[15] The introduction of the modal framework could greatly enhance the theological meaning of music, its impact and its transcendental mediating role in the performance of worship itself, on one side; and on the other, it could eliminate all pagan or non-Christian ecclesiastical worship. Hence, the Oktoechos compiled by Damascus had to suggest some theological ideas and implement these in its semantics. It could be assumed that the reason for the comprehensive application of the eight-mode system to the repertory of the resurrectional and common services was, in the first place, that these services were performed most often and were attended by the majority of people. In that way, periodically – by the performance of the

"governed" echos-ethos day by day and week by week – the necessary and desirable devotion of the community was achieved: people were introduced to Christian truths and to the values of Christian teaching. Damascus could be considered in this sense to be one of the most distinguished hymnographers who gave a new ethical meaning to church music, linking it to the highest degree with the established theological ideas. His entire activity was directed towards an interpretation and explanation of the "true faith" and education in its doctrines.[16] Damascus' hymnographic activity became one of the strongest tools for that purpose.[17] This problem, however, has not yet been well studied.

On the basis of the discussion to here, it could be suggested with great certainty that the book, whose compilation Damascus participated most actively in, was of the type of the Georgian *Iadgari* or Tropologion II, as it was determined here. To sum up what Damascus did in his work on this book: first, he rearranged the feasts from the previous period into an uninterrupted liturgical order according to the church calendar used at his time, contaminating most of them; second, he preserved the beginning of the church year at the time of Christmas and put Lent and Easter time after the Hypapante;[18] third, he worked out the monthly section of the book, distributing the chants according to the fixed dates established in the church calendar – this is the largest section in the *Iadgari*; fourth, he applied the eight-mode system into a comprehensive liturgical repertory, that of the resurrectional and common services, systematizing them by the mode and ethos for eight weeks; and fifth and finally, he compiled various chants of the new genres, sticheron and kanon, establishing them in the worship – both genres became an indication of the newly compiled pieces that were inserted in the new and old services.[19] If the *Iadgari* is the hymnographic book that was used by the great hymnographer in the Church, the Oktoechos that is revealed in this book for the first time should be of his compilation; indeed, it is not by chance that the formation of this book is traditionally linked with his name. The Oktoechos section was included in the Tropologion, the universal hymnographic liturgical book at the time of Damascus. According to the sources, this book was spread not only in Byzantium but also in Palestine, Syria, Armenia and, later on, in Southern Italy.

Tropologion III

A book known from the time of the Studites. It has been preserved in copies in Greek and Syriac designated, respectively, Tropologion and Tropligin.[20] This book could be considered a second redaction of the Tropologion (of the Tropologion II type) that was made at the Studite school: Theodore, Joseph, Theophanos and others. The calendar here was changed considerably – it starts not with Christmas or the Annunciation, but with September 1. This date most likely reflects a local liturgical calendar of Constantinople: early sources point out that it was accepted as the beginning

of the church year in the entire Byzantine Empire by the eighth century.[21] The structure of the repertory is also revisited. It is in **liturgical calendar order, but in an "interrupted" one**. The annual repertory has considerably more feasts. It started dividing and restructuring into three separate cycles containing, respectively, immovable and movable feasts along with the eight-mode successions. Of the old Tropologion in its uninterrupted order, the Tropologion II, linked with the school of the Sabaites, as we know it according to the two manuscripts, Sinai MΓ 56-5, the eight-mode successions drop out at the earliest and were compiled in a separate collection. An earlier form of compilation of the eight-mode successions is revealed in the Sinai 1593–776 manuscripts from the first half of the ninth century.[22] In these manuscripts, the eight-mode successions for the resurrectional worship are included as they are given in the *Iadgari*; for the first time also, such successions for weekdays are written down. The successions, however, are not given in their succession from Monday through Saturday and the memories for each day are not indicated yet, as it is in later sources from the tenth–eleventh centuries onwards when the weekday services systematically entered the written sources. In later manuscripts, a number of essential innovations can already be identified: first, along with the resurrectional kanons that we find in the *Iadgari*, there are also kanons for the weekdays from Monday through Saturday with one or two memories indicated, some of which are linked with contemporary author's names like Joseph the Hymnographer and Theophanos Graptos (Sinai manuscripts 777 and 789). Second, the stichera and the kathismata of the common weekly services are fixed in the same successive order: anastasima (resurrectional), katanuktika (penitential), stavrosima (for the Holy Cross), apostolika (for the Apostles), martyrika (for the Martyrs), nekrosima (for death) and theotokia (for the Theotokos) (Sinai manuscripts 784 and 789). And third, for the first time a cycle of exaposteilaria appears, a genre ascribed to the Emperor Constantine VII: it is performed on Sunday morning after the kanons, along with the stichera eothina that are ascribed to the Emperor Leo VI the Wise, the father of Constantine VII (Sinai 789).

The repertory for the immovable feasts also started to be separated earlier. It has been preserved in many copies of the Sinai manuscripts. The earliest of them are the Sinai manuscripts 607 and MΓ 28 from the ninth century. In all probability, the systematization of the memories for each day of the twelve months of the year should have been a long process. The book should have been perceived as a new one after its accomplishment as a set of twelve Menaia. It is obvious that it did not happen suddenly. After the accomplishment of the whole set, the book should have received its new name and entered the worship under it – the Menaion. At the same time, the repertory of the movable feasts was worked out as well. Its modern compilation was accomplished considerably early – by the end of the ninth century. The changes in this section of the *Iadgari*/Tropologion primarily concerns, as Stig Frøyshov stressed, the shape and selection of the material.[23]

The increased volume of repertory in manuscripts of the type of the Tropologion III shows that the feasts were filled out continuously. This should have been one of the essential reasons that led to the separation of the book: it was almost impossible for the scribes to keep its content into one volume. Special books were systematized known as Menaion, Triodion and Oktoechos. The Tropologion appears as their predecessor.[24]

The genres in the Tropologion III are like those in the Tropologion II: troparia, stichera, kathismata, kanons, hypakoai, beatitudes and prokeimena. Kanons for weekdays, the kontakia with oikoi that are not found in the sources from previous stages, and the exaposteilaria ascribed to the Emperor Constantine VII in various later sources could be considered a Studite editorial work.

The study of the sources clearly shows the changes in the transmission of hymnographic books. The beginning of the church year was changed – from the Epiphany/Annunciation/Christmas to September 1; the repertory was rearranged from thematic into uninterrupted order of immovable, movable and immovable feasts, and, finally – into an interrupted one of immovable and movable feasts; the eight-mode successions were constituted for both resurrectional and weekly services. These changes could be determined as developmentally and editorially linked with both the Sabaite and the Studite schools. Judging from the sources studied, and by the authors and genres included, we could assume that the changes might be due to the use of different Typika; respectively, the old Jerusalem one and the Studite one in its earliest redaction, the *Hypotyposis*, which displays differences from the old Jerusalem Typikon.[25]

The conclusions that could be drown from this comparative study of the Tropologion are the following.

First, as a result of the expansion of the hymnographic material, the contents of the book begin to divide into separate parts. Three basic books were formed related to the three basic liturgical sections containing immovable feasts, movable ones and the eight-mode successions. The newly compiled separate books were of the type of the Menaion, Triodion-Pentekostarion and the Oktoechos (resurrectional and weekly).

Second, the newly formed books were not renamed immediately after their separation, but after the accomplishment of the systematization of the repertory included. The comprehension of the new books is a result of the activity of the Studite school between the end of the eighth and the tenth centuries. The repertory for the fixed feasts was gathered together in the book named Menaion. Robert Taft, the great connoisseur of Eastern worship, reveals the systematic Menaion with hymnography for each day of the year in manuscripts from the eleventh to twelfth centuries, and we agree with his conclusion;[26] the repertory for the movable feasts was gathered together in the book called Triodion. The latter designation, unlike the Menaion, can be read in the earliest Sinai manuscripts with such repertory from the tenth century, 734–735;[27] the repertory, with eight-mode successions for the

resurrection, the common weekly services and those for the fixed weekdays, was gathered together in the book of the Oktoechos – this designation is revealed in the Sinai 795 manuscript from the end of the twelfth century with notated stichera idiomela and anabathmoi in the eight modes. Most likely after the relative stabilization of the composition of these books, the designation Tropologion became redundant and went out of use after the twelfth century. In the studied Sinai manuscripts in Greek from the thirteenth century onwards, it is not encountered anymore.

Third, the division of the repertory into separate collections according to immovable and movable feasts leads to the compilation of the first specialized notated books in the East. The notated books appear systematically by the end of the tenth century. The resurrectional stichera idiomela are gathered together in the Sticherarion – the book that, in terms of its structure and composition, reproduces the early Tropologion/*Iadgari* to the greatest degree. It is compiled with the repertory of the Menaion, Triodion-Pentekostarion and the Oktoechos gathered together, but arranged as a Tropologion III – in an interrupted liturgical order. The earliest designation for "Sticherarion" can be read in a manuscript from the first half of the eleventh century – Vatopedi 1488.[28] The heirmoi of the kanons are gathered together in the Heirmologion, whose earliest representative is the manuscript Lavra B. 32 from the end of the tenth century.

Fourth, the wide distribution of the Tropologion and its dominant place in the early worship shows that the Slavic Apostles Sts. Cyril and Methodius and their pupils (at least to their arrival to Bulgaria after 885) should have known and used exactly this hymnographic book. In all probability, they knew it in its version as a Tropologion II; their pupils, after their settlement in Bulgaria, worked on filling out the festal services and their systematization according to the Constantinopolitan calendar in its Studite version, when the repertory started to be divided and compiled in separate collections of immovable and movable feasts and eight-mode resurrectional and weekly successions.[29] In the ninth–tenth centuries, in spite of the new compilations (new in terms of the former versions of the Tropologion/*Iadgari*), the newly compiled books still kept their old, uniform name, Tropologion. Where we read this designation in a rubric or inscription, the book should be determined as a Tropologion of the Menaion, Triodion-Pentekostarion and Oktoechos type. Only from the end of the tenth century onwards does the designation of the new compilations begin to be changed and specified.

Fifth, the displaced title of the Tropologion eventually could be considered as a result of both the increased volume of its repertory, and respectively, its rearrangement, and an effort to adapt this repertory to the needs of newer times.

It could be said, finally, that the Tropologion was a universal liturgical book that was used in the Eastern Church between the fifth/sixth and the thirteenth centuries. The hymnographic material of the cathedral worship was compiled in it. The book is known according to various sources in Greek, Georgian, Syriac and Armenian. In all probability, it was known also in Old Slavic (Old Bulgarian). Over the course of time, the book was constantly updated with both newly-established feasts that found their place in the church calendar of

the Eastern Church and newly-created pieces for these feasts. Both the genres and the number of authors included in the book increased. The book has gone through various stages: first, the book had its repertory arranged in thematic order for the feasts of Lord, saints and common services; second, the book had a rearranged repertory in uninterrupted liturgical order for immovable and movable feasts and for the resurrectional services (S. Frøyshov's so-called "global order") that could be considered as a culmination of its compilation; and at the end, the book displayed the division of the increased repertory into separate collections, respectively, for the immovable and movable feasts and for the eight-mode successions. This dynamic updating of the book for more than five centuries witnessed the vitality of the liturgical hymnographic practice, as well as its ability to respond to the changes in the liturgy and its needs. At the same time, it witnessed the ability of Eastern tradition to convey over time many old layers, skillfully combining them with new ones – an ability that remains characteristic to the entire tradition of Eastern Orthodox culture and, in particular, music. In musical pieces from the nineteenth century "relics" are revealed from the time of the earliest notated records, though in different contexts. That the Eastern Church keeping its roots and returning to them again and again bears evidence of its major goal – to be true and orthodox, confessing and most precisely keeping the "right faith."

Notes

1 S. Frøyshov, considering the history of hymnography from an early time, outlines several periods in its development from the fourth-fifth to the fourteenth centuries, see Frøyshov, S. S. Greek Hymnody…, pp. 20–32.

2 Stipulations should be made, mostly in terms of the textological material included: the study of the latter will, with certainty, reveal a reflection of local practices. I will stress that I agree with the statement of P. Jeffery that even though the Syriac and Georgian books were translated from Greek, they do not represent direct "Forlagen" of the Greek books: each tradition, accepting something from another one, developed independently and created pieces "in its own way to arrive at its own result," see Jeffery, P. The Earliest Oktoechoi…, p. 207. What we are interested in is finding out what was at the roots of each tradition in its formative stage (in our case, the Georgian, Syrian and Greek or the Byzantine), and also the typological connections between the separate traditions. The goal is to reach a certain prototype that splits over the course of time and to see how it has been transmited and accepted in terms of the determined parameters.

3 I proceed from the point that, to start with, these books should be considered in the context of a time when there was an already clearly outlined "backbone" of the material they contained, allowing us to follow its transmission in the sources. I am convinced that only in this way can we find out what has dropped out in a given book, what it has preserved and why, how it has developed, etc. The opinion that an object should be considered as such from the time when it emerged in its modern form and has already been given its modern designation, despite its history as a process during the time, is not the most convincing.

4 Severus lived during the time determined by C. Mango as "Late Antiquity". It was the time that includes the whole Roman world – Latin and Greek between 284 and 602, see Mango, C. Introduction…, p. 5.

5 Hence, the Syrian manuscripts related to the time of Severus and before could be considered as examples of the earliest compiled service books. The arrangement

by thematic cycles is considered as very old practice in the history of western hymnography as well: it was revealed in the western Tonaries from the eighth to ninth centuries (the books containing chants in eight mode successions). The thematic arrangement points clearly to a pre-notational practice of chants: they were dependent on a small group of melodic themes, see Atkinson, C. M. *The Critical Nexus. Tone-System, Mode, and Notation in Early Medieval Music*. AMS Studies in Music, Oxford University Press, 2009, p. 93.

6 The Armenian Šaraknoc, as it was said, is discussed here only "in external": the author of this study has not worked with Armenian sources; the information about this book is used according to the cited publications of G. Winkler. In all probability, the hymnic material of the Greek original that already existed by the time of Severus and reached Damascus or his immediate predecessors was revised at the school of Sabaites with the active participation of Damascus, Andrew of Crete and Kosmas of Maiuma. St. John of Damascus was at the "St. Saba" monastery between 720 and 750, and died there. He worked at that monastery alongside Kosmas for ten years. Kosmas has twelve full kanons: for Palm Sunday, Assumption, Exaltation of the Holy Cross, Christmas, etc.; he wrote also triodia and tetraodia kanons for the Holy week, see Louth, A. John of Damascus and the Making of the Byzantine Theological Synthesis. *OLA: The Sabaitic Heritage in the Orthodox Church from the Fifth Century to the Present*, 98, 2001, 301–304.

7 The beatitudes are probably the chants designated as "oxitay;" they were performed at the beginning of the Eucharist, see Jeffery. P. The Sunday Office… About the genres in МГ 56-5 see Nikiforova, A. The Tropologion NE МГ Sin. gr. 56-5…, pp. 167–178.

8 It is the calendar that was used at the time of John of Damascus in Jerusalem. We say Damascus, but we have in mind the whole generation of predecessors and contemporaries of him that had worked in the field of hymnography. Without a doubt, Damascus was among the most distinguished figures of the seventh-eighth centuries and long after that. Simeon, Archbishop of Thessaloniki (1416/17–1429), writes in his treatise "On Divine Prayer": "…This order of St. Sabas was… formulated by our father among the saints Sophronios, Patriarch of the Holy City, and after him our holy and theological father John Damascene renewed it and handled it down in writing," see Lingas, A. *Sunday Matins*…, p. 129.

9 Leeb, H. Op. cit., S. 276–277.

10 The initial appearance of this Oktoechos is presented by determined liturgical repertory for the resurrectional and common services given in the eight-mode successions: in the early sources, the systematic modal designations are revealed in these services for the first time.

11 Troelsgård, C. A New Source for the Early *Oktoechos*…, 668–679; idem. Songs for the Theotokos…, pp. 15–19.

12 About the ethos of the modal system, see: Moutsopoulos, E. A. Modal "ethos" in Byzantine Music: Ethical Tradition and Aesthetical Problems. In: *XVI. Internationaler Byzantinistenkongress: Akten II/7, Jahrbuch für Österreichischen Byzantinistik*, 32/7. Vienna, 1982, 3–6.

13 The scholars agree in this aspect. The citation is according to Raasted, J. The Hagiopolites: A Byzantine Treatise on Musical Theory. *Cahiers de l'Institut*…, 45, 1983, pp. 12–13. See also: Wellesz, E. *A History of Byzantine*…, pp. 303–309; Floros, C. *Einführung in die Neumenkunde*…, S. 73; Иванов, И. *Между ангелите и човеците*. С., 2006, с. 207–221; Георгиева, С. Интонационните формули (*ихими*) като елемент от осмогласната система. Списъци с *ихими* във византийски пападики-трактати. *БМ*, 3–4, 2007, 91–125.

14 The eight-mode system is accepted as a basis: theoretically and practically, there were not only primary (authentic) and secondary (plagal) modes but also medial ones that complemented the modal "frame." The question of how exactly the modal system has evolved remains open.

15 According to Raasted, J. The Hagiopolites…, p. 16. According to P. Jeffery, the incitement towards "screaming and violence" is a quotation from kanon 75 of the Trullan or Quinisext Council of 692, that is, in all probability by the end of the seventh century, the eight-mode system was not widely spread, and was not yet used systematically. That should have happened after 692 – apparently by the beginning of the eighth century, when the activity of Andrew of Crete, John of Damascus and Kosmas of Maiuma flourished and the works of these hymnographers were already provided with systematical modal indications; see Jeffery, P. The Earliest Oktoechoi…, p. 187.

16 See Тъпкова-Заимова, В. Йоан Дамаскин. *КМЕ*, т. II…, с. 167–169.

17 H. Leeb speaks about "Theologie im Gesang" in terms of the increasing hymnody, see Leeb, H. Die Gesänge…, S. 294.

18 The Hypapante remains just in the middle between Christmas and Easter. This feast formed an arc with some of the most important feasts of Christ: Christmas – Hypapante – Easter – Pentekost. The theological meaning of this arc could be interpreted as from the Nativity to the Ascension.

19 At the time of Damascus, the common services were presented by the classes of the following chants: anastasima (resurrectional), katanuktika (for repentance), anapausima (for death), nekrosima (for the deceased), theotokia (for the Holy Virgin) and probably stavrosima (for the Holy Cross).

20 The author of this study, as it was said, has not worked with the Armenian sources. That is why it is left as a question whether there was such a redaction of the Armenian Šaraknoc.

21 According to E. Velkovska, the Synaxarion with the agiographic notes arranged by feasts and memories from September 1 to August 31 is due to Constantine VII; it was a result of series of liturgical changes after the iconoclasm; see Велковска, Е. Система на византийските и славянските богослужебни книги в периода на възникването им. В: *Средновековна християнска Европа: Изток и Запад*. София, 2002, 220–236.

22 About these manuscripts see Куюмджиева, С. Отново за ранните осмогласници…, 26–49; idem. *Ранните осмогласници*…, с. 116–129.

23 Frøyshov, S. S. Greek Hymnody…, p. 47.

24 This opinion is also argued by the Georgian scholars and is accepted by others like M. Momina and P. Jeffery, see Метревели, Е. Цит. съч.; Момина, М. О произхождении…; Jeffery, P. The Sunday Office…; Yevics, P. E. *Lazarus Saturday in the Byzantine Tradition*. Ph.D., Madison, NY, 1977.

25 See Taft, R. Mount Athos…, 179–194.

26 Taft, R. Menaion…, p. 1338.

27 The earliest dated book of this type is called Triodion: manuscript Sinai 736 from 1027/28. The initial rubric reads that works by Joseph and Theodore Studites are gathered together in this manuscript. There are also notated chants in archaic palaeobyzantine notation *Coislin*. They are identified with a sticheron for the feast of August 6, the Transfiguration (f. 131r) and troparion for the Orthros on Easter (f. 241v–243v).

28 About this manuscript, see Follieri, E. and O. Strunk, eds. Triodium Athoum…

29 With certainty, at that time this book was not yet called Menaion, Triodion, Oktoechos, Sticherarion, etc. This was the time when books began to replace the scrolls and the liturgical repertory eventually entered the books. It is a big question that deserves a special attention.

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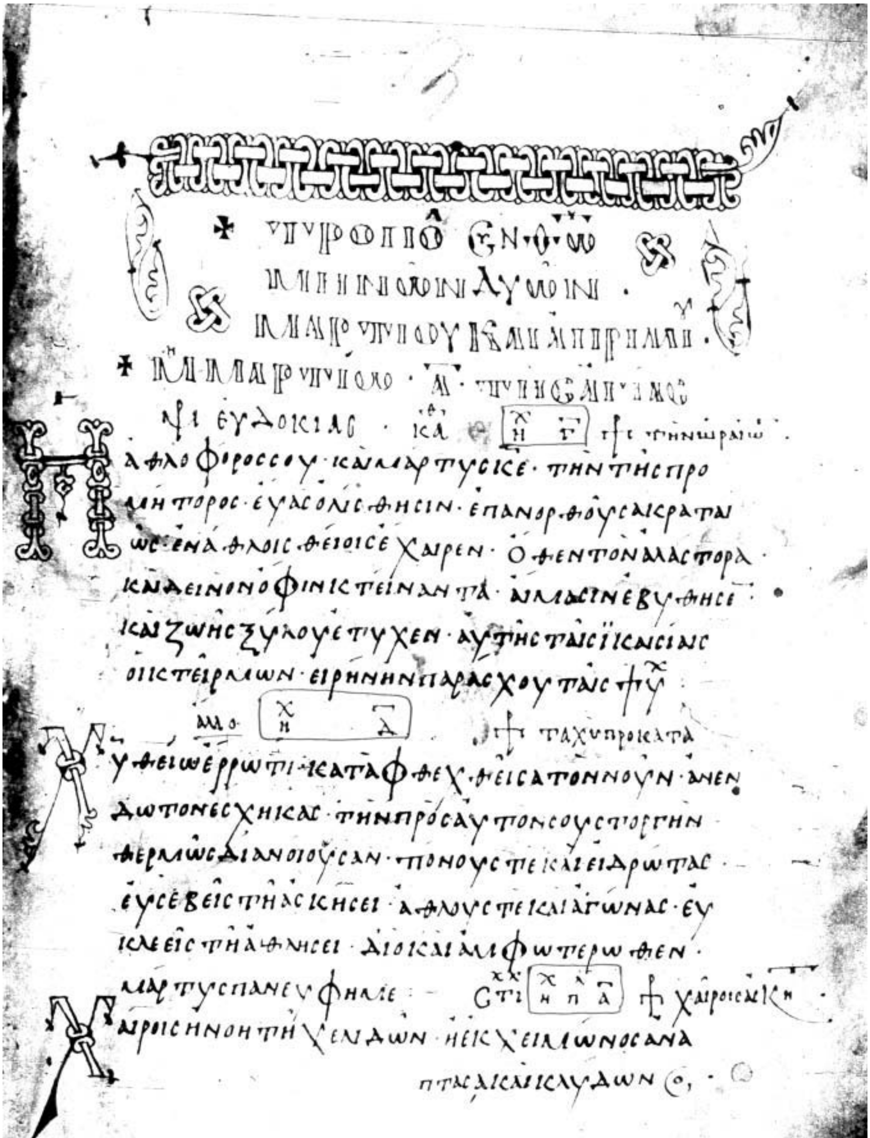


Figure 1 Manuscript Sinai 607, 9th century, f. 3r: the rubric reads that this is a Tropologion for two months – March and April.

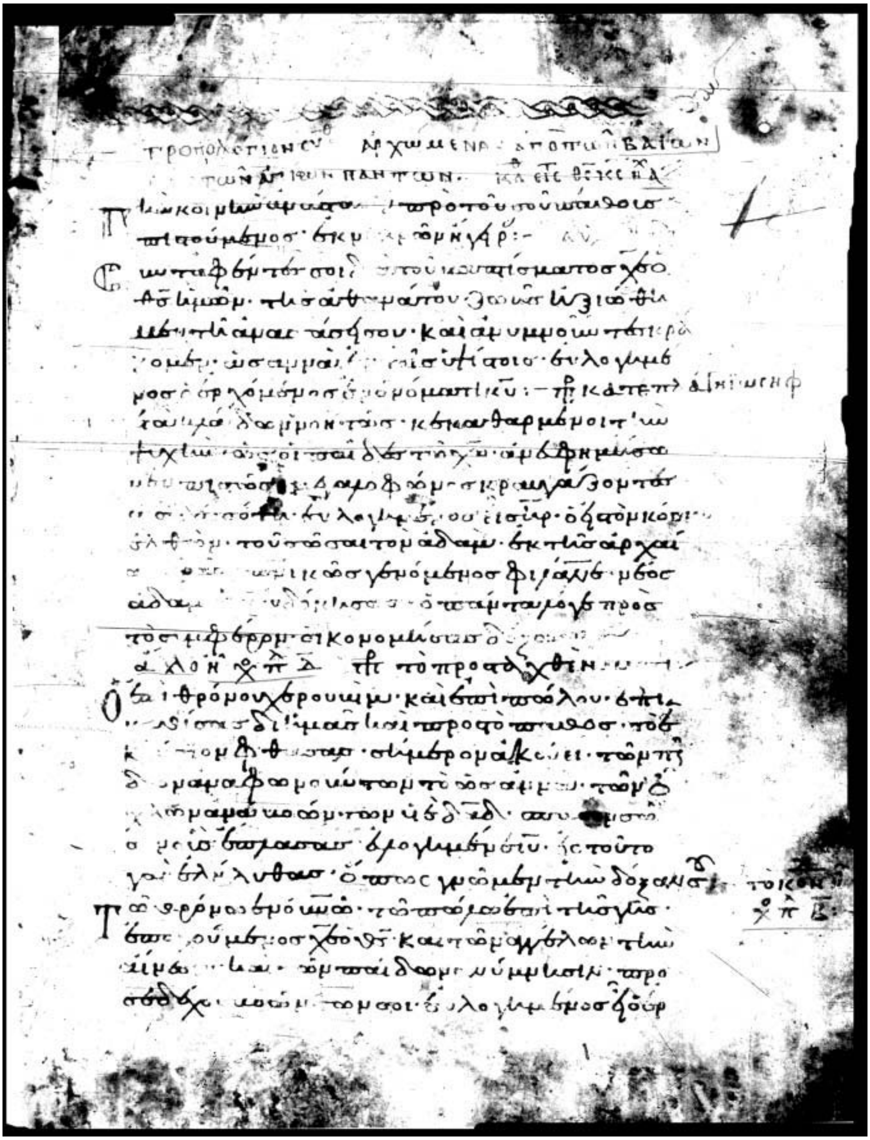


Figure 2 Manuscript Sinai 759, 9th century, f. 1r: the rubric reads that the book is a Tropologion starting with Palm Sunday and ending with the Sunday of All Saints.

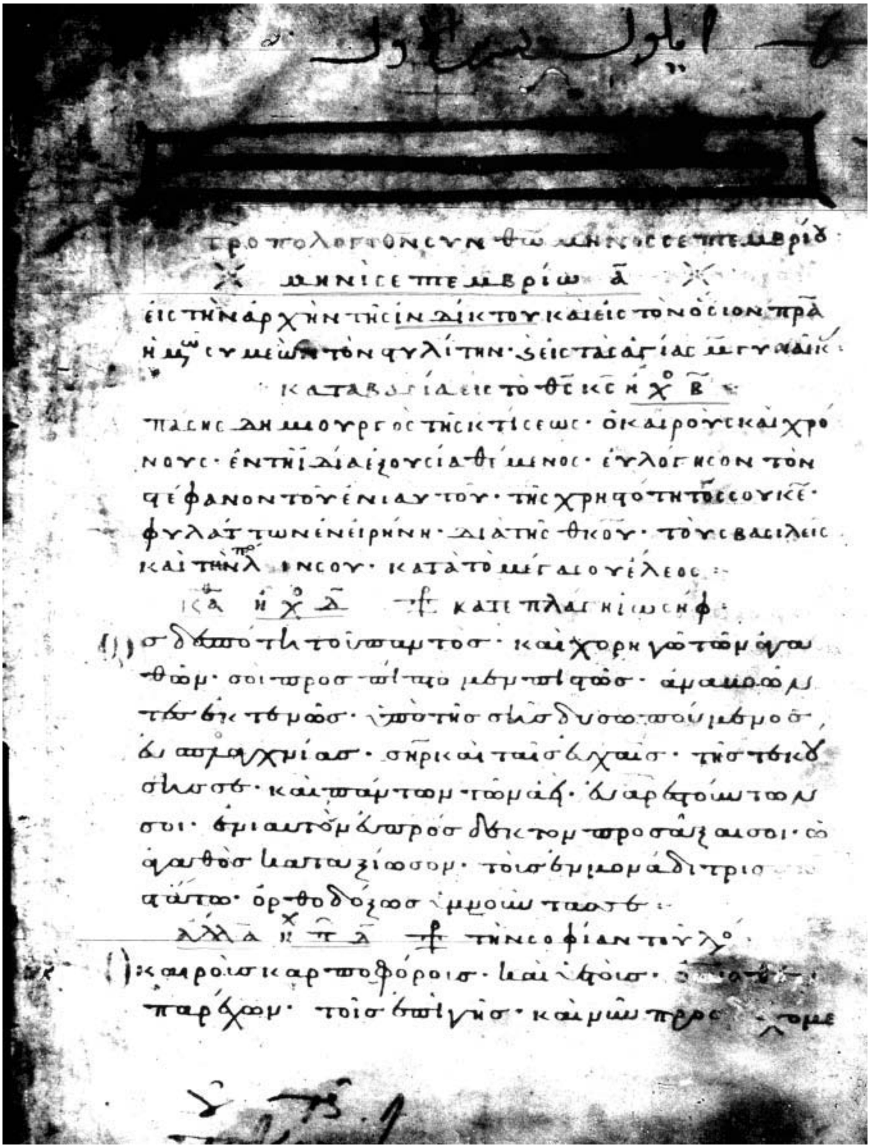


Figure 3 Manuscript Sinai 556, 11th century, f. 1r: the rubric reads that it is a Tropologion beginning with September 1, the “indiktion”.

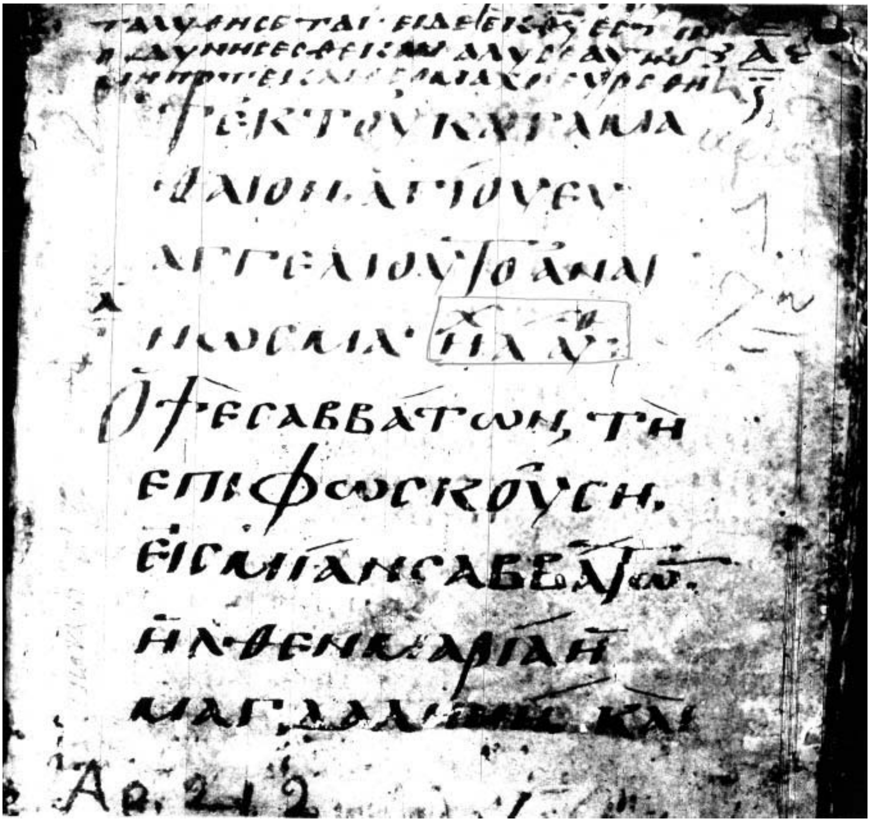


Figure 4 Manuscript Sinai 212, 7th to the 9th century, f. 1r. Gospel-Lectionary. In the middle is read “mode 1 authentikos”.

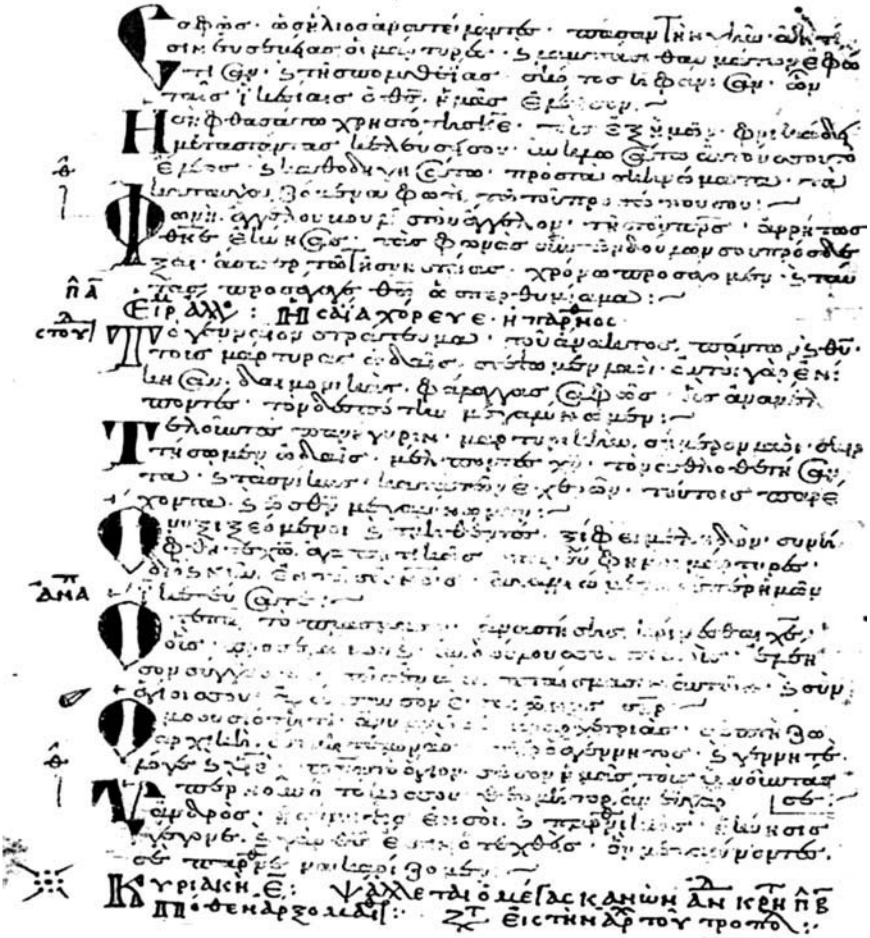


Figure 5 Manuscript Vat. gr. 771, Tropologion, 11th century, f. 118v: below on the sheet is the first inscription of Nilus.

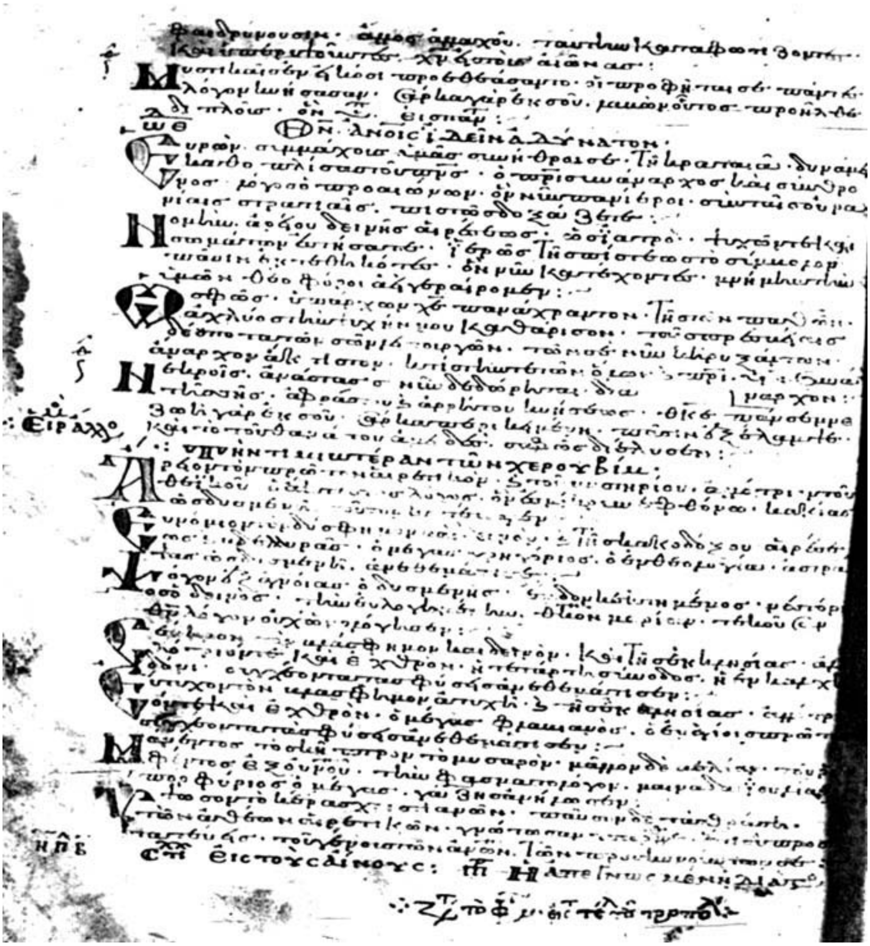


Figure 6 Manuscript Vat. gr. 771, Tropologion, 11th century, f. 188v: below on the sheet is the second inscription of Nilus.

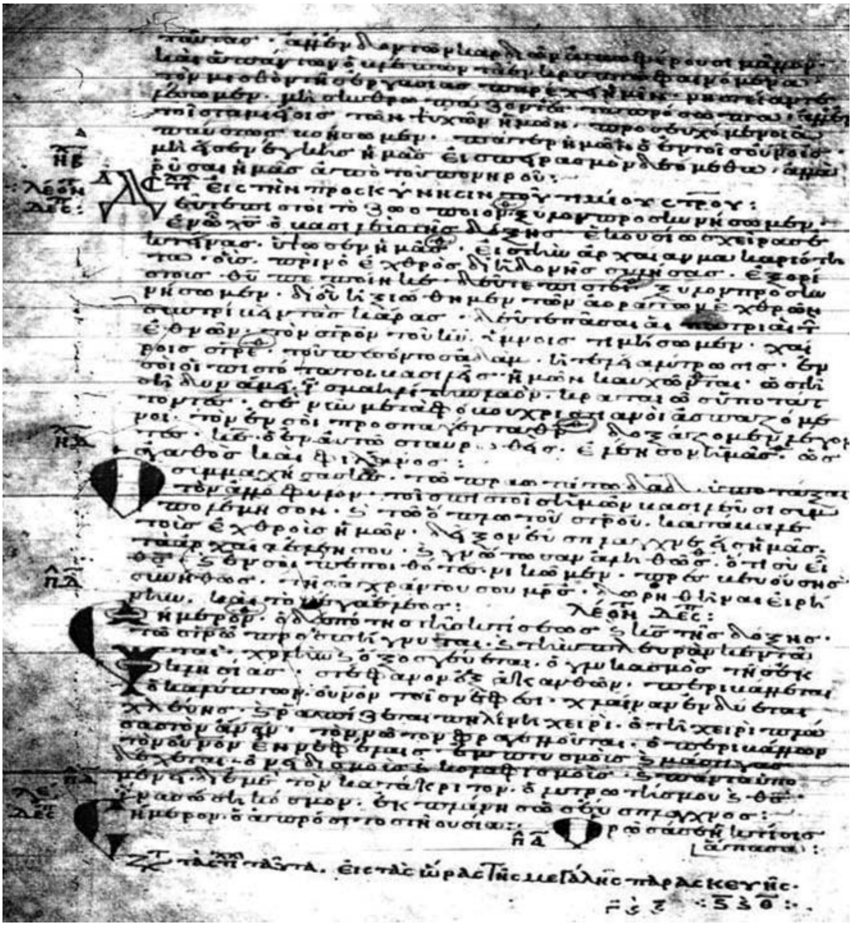


Figure 7 Manuscript Vat. gr. 771, Tropologion, 11th century, f. 1v: chants by Leo VI the Wise in theta-notation.

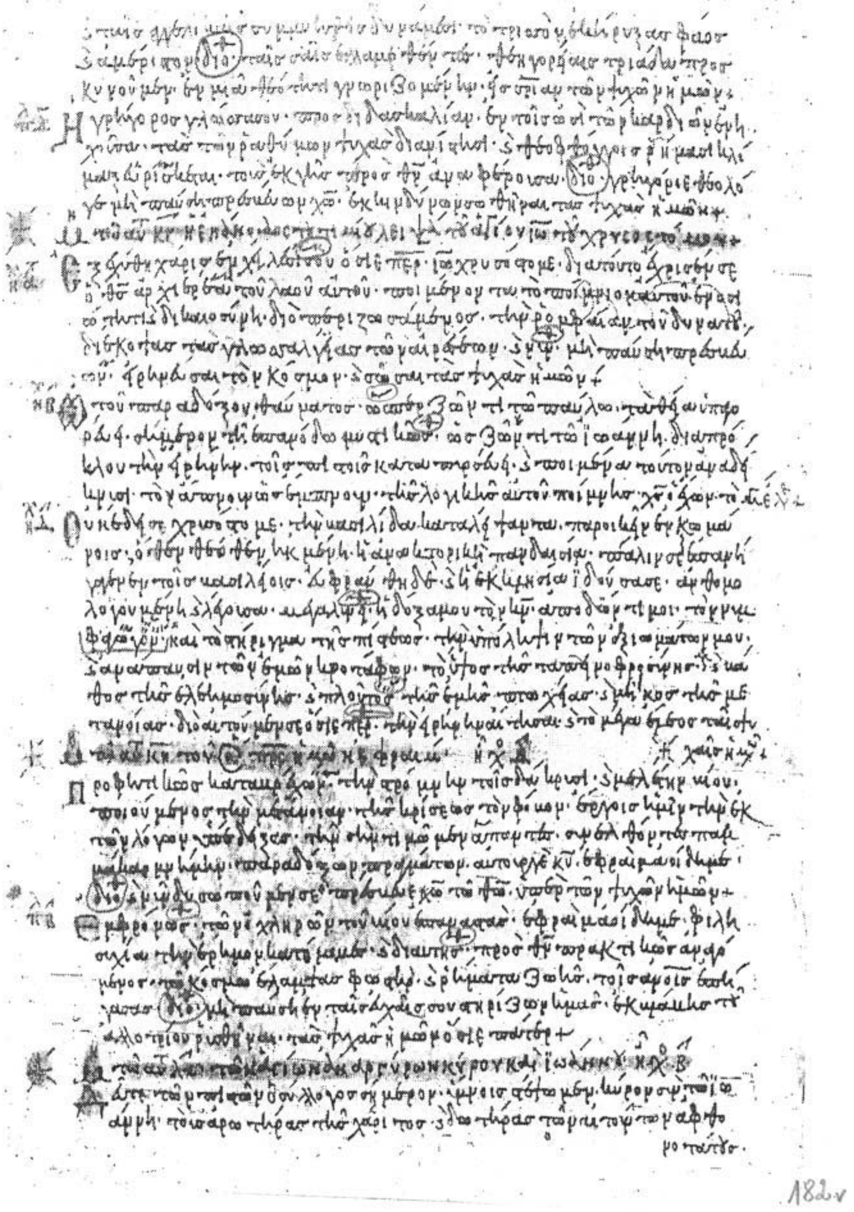
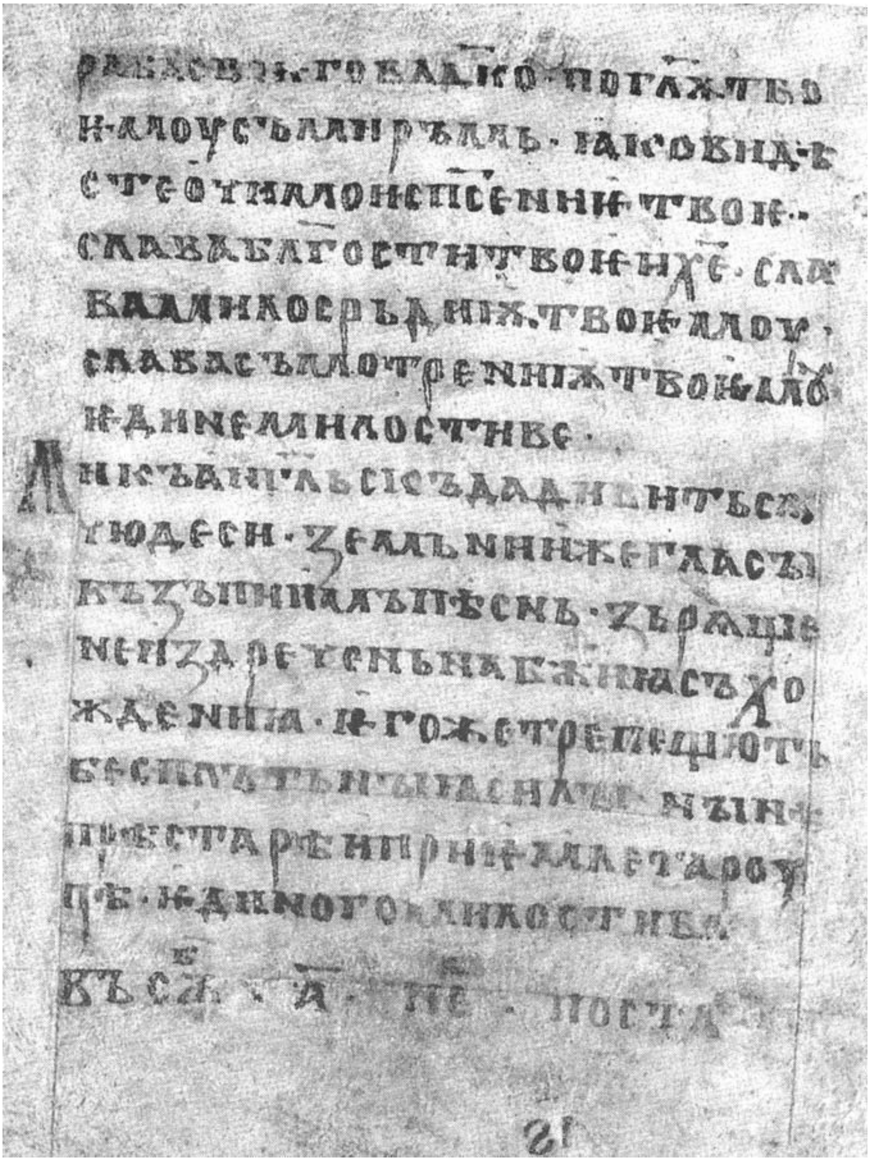


Figure 8 Manuscript Vat. gr. 2008 from 1102, Tropologion, f. 182v: theta-notation in stichera.

Figure 9 Manuscript Vat. gr. 2008 from 1102, Tropologion, f. 185v: Coislin, Chartres and theta-notation.



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